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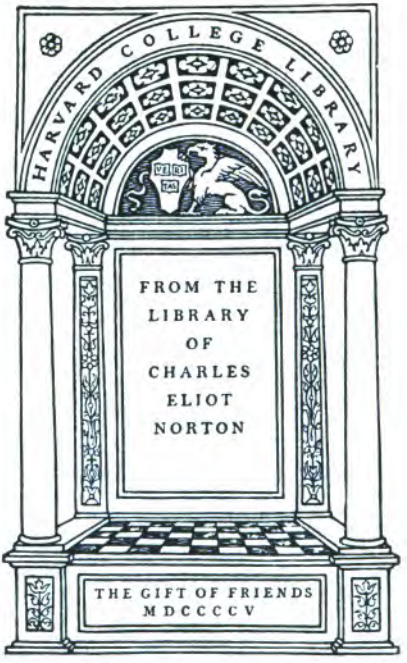
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Heroic Attachment of a Clansman to his Chieftain.

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LETTERS

FROM A

GENTLEMAN IN THE NORTH OF SCOTLAND

TO

HIS FRIEND IN LONDON;

CONTAINING THE DESCRIPTION OF A CAPITAL TOWN IN THAT NORTHERN COUNTRY, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF SOME UNCOMMON CUSTOMS OF THE INHABITANTS:

LIKEWISE

AN ACCOUNT OF THE HIGHLANDS,

WITH

The Customs and Manners of the Highlanders.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A LETTER RELATING TO THE MILITARY WAYS AMONG THE MOUNTAINS, BEGUN IN THE YEAR 1726.

THE FIFTH EDITION,

WITH

Engravings,

AND

A LARGE APPENDIX,

CONTAINING VARIOUS IMPORTANT HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS, HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED; WITH AN

INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,

BY THE EDITOR,

R. JAMIESON, F.A.S. LOND. & EDIN.

Corresponding Member of the Scandinavian Literary Society of Copenhagen, &c.

AND

THE HISTORY OF DONALD THE HAMMERER,

From an Authentic Account of the Family of Invernahyle; a MS. communicated by SIR WALTER SCOTT, BART.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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LETTER XIX.

THE Highlanders are divided into tribes, or clans, under chiefs,* or chieftains, as they are called in the laws of Scotland; and each clan again divided into branches from the main stock, who have chieftains over them. These

* Long after the art of government had been so far improved, that tranquillity was maintained and justice administered over all England and the Low-country of Scotland, the Highlands continued to afford a lively representation of the state of England before the Norman Conquest, and of all Europe at the date of the Crusades. As to this day the effects remain of that state of society out of which the Highlands have so recently emerged, or rather as they are at present only in a state of transition, or passage into that situation in which the rest of the island has so long been placed, it becomes a subject of rational curiosity to attend correctly to the past and present state of that portion of territory.—*Beauties of Scotland*, vol. v. 181.

are subdivided into smaller branches of fifty or sixty men, who deduce their original from their particular chieftains, and rely upon them as their more immediate protectors and defenders. But for better distinction I shall use the word chief for the head of a whole clan, and the principal of a tribe derived from him I shall call a chieftain.

The ordinary Highlanders esteem it the most sublime degree of virtue to love their chief,* and pay him a blind obedience, although it be in opposition to the government, the laws of

* The laird is the original owner of the land, whose natural power must be very great, where no man lives but by agriculture, and where the produce of the land is not conveyed through the labyrinths of traffic, but passes directly from the hand that gathers to the mouth that eats it. The laird has all those in his power that live upon his farms. Kings can, for the most part, only exalt or degrade—the laird, at pleasure, can feed or starve, can give bread or withhold it. This inherent power was yet strengthened by the kindness of consanguinity and the reverence of patriarchal authority. The laird was the father of the clan, and his tenants commonly bore his name; and to these principles of original command was added, for many ages, an exclusive right of legal jurisdiction. This multifarious and extensive obligation operated with a force scarcely credible: every duty, moral or political, was absorbed in affection and adherence to the chief. Not many years have passed since the clans knew no law but the laird's will; he told them to whom they should be friends or enemies; what kings they should obey, and what religion they should profess.—*Johnson's Journey*, Works, vol. viii. 310.

the kingdom, or even to the law of God. He is their idol; and as they profess to know no king but him (I was going further), so will they say they ought to do whatever he commands without inquiry.

Next to this love of their chief is that of the particular branch from whence they sprang; and, in a third degree, to those of the whole clan or name, whom they will assist, right or wrong, against those of any other tribe with which they are at variance, to whom their enmity, like that of exasperated brothers, is most outrageous.

They likewise owe good will to such clans as they esteem to be their particular well-wishers; and lastly, they have an adherence one to another as Highlanders, in opposition to the people of the Low-country, whom they despise as inferior to them in courage, and believe they have a right to plunder them whenever it is in their power. This last arises from a tradition, that the Lowlands, in old times, were the possession of their ancestors.

If the truth of this opinion of theirs stood in need of any evidence, it might, in good measure, be confirmed by what I had from a Highland gentleman of my acquaintance. He told me that a certain chief of a considerable clan, in rummaging lately an old charter-chest, found

a letter directed by another chief to his grandfather, who is therein assured of the immediate restitution of his *lifted*,—that is, stolen, cows; for that he (the writer of the letter) had thought they belonged to the Lowland lairds of Murray, whose goods and effects ought to be a prey to them all.

When I mentioned this tradition, I had only in view the middling and ordinary Highlanders, who are very tenacious of old customs and opinions; and, by the example I have given of a fact that happened almost a century ago, I would be understood that it is very probable such a notion was formerly entertained by some, at least, among those of the highest rank.

The chief* exercises an arbitrary authority over his vassals, determines all differences and disputes that happen among them, and levies taxes upon extraordinary occasions, such as the marriage of a daughter, building a house, or some pretence for his support and the honour of the name. And if any one should refuse to contribute to the best of his ability he is sure

* The chief usually attempted to divide his lands in such a way as to accommodate all his followers; at the same time, by the power which he possessed of expelling a refractory individual, his authority over them was complete.—*Beauties of Scotland*, vol. v. 182.

of severe treatment, and if he persisted in his obstinacy he would be cast out of his tribe by general consent; but instances of this kind have very rarely happened.

This power of the chiefs is not supported by interest, as they are landlords, but as lineally descended from the old patriarchs, or fathers of the families; for they hold the same authority when they have lost their estates, as may appear from several, and particularly one who commands in his clan, though, at the same time, they maintain him, having nothing left of his own.

On the other hand, the chief,* even against the laws, is to protect his followers, as they are sometimes called, be they never so criminal. He is their leader in clan quarrels, must free the necessitous from their arrears of rent, and maintain such who, by accidents, are fallen to total decay.

If, by increase of the tribe, any small farms are wanting for the support of such addition,

* Formerly the chieftain of a clan was an officer of the first importance; before he entered on his patriarchal government, and ere his followers owned him as fit for enterprize, proofs of his valour were required, to satisfy them of his prowess in the field: and, as he likewise was sole umpire in all domestic disputes, it seldom happened that an opportunity was wanting for the display of his judicial talents.—*Campbell's Journey*, vol. i. 184.

he splits others into lesser portions, because all must be somehow provided for; and as the meanest among them pretend to be his relations* by consanguinity, they insist upon the privilege of taking him by the hand wherever they meet him,

Concerning this last, I once saw a number of very discontented countenances when a certain lord, one of the chiefs, endeavoured to evade this ceremony. It was in presence of an English gentleman in high station, from whom he would willingly have concealed the knowledge of such seeming familiarity with slaves of so wretched appearance, and thinking it, I suppose, as a kind of contradiction to what he had often boasted at other times, viz. his despotic power in his clan.

The unlimited love and obedience of the Highlanders to their chiefs are not confined to the lower order of their followers, but are the same with those who are near them in rank.

* The chiefs had it not in their power to act as despots, or with barbarity towards their own people; on the contrary, the connection was maintained by mutual benefits and kind offices: the most condescending manners were employed; his house was the general resort of his clan, and his revenue was spent in entertaining them. The highest and the lowest were the companions in arms, and even the kindred of each other, who depended for their safety upon their mutual fidelity and courage.—*Beauties of Scotland*, vol. v. 184.

As for instance:—As I was travelling in a very wild part of the country, and approaching the house of one of those gentlemen, who had notice of my coming, he met me at some distance from his dwelling, with his Arcadian offering of milk and cream, as usual, carried before him by his servants. He afterwards invited me to his hut, which was built like the others, only very long, but without any partition, where the family was at one end, and some cattle at the other. By the way (although the weather was not warm), he was without shoes, stockings, or breeches, in a short coat, with a shirt not much longer, which hung between his thighs, and just hid his nakedness from two daughters, about seventeen or eighteen years old, who sat over against him. After some compliments on either side, and his wishing me *good weather*, we entered into conversation, in which he seemed to be a man of as good sense as he was well-proportioned. In speaking of the country, he told me he knew I wondered how any body would undergo the inconveniences of a Highland life.

You may be sure I was not wanting in an agreeable contradiction, by saying I doubted not they had their satisfactions and pleasures to countervail any inconveniences they might sustain, though, perhaps, those advantages could not be well known to such as are *en passant*,

But he very modestly interrupted me as I was going on, and said he knew that what I said was the effect of complaisance, and could not be the real sentiment of one who knew a good deal of the country: "But," says he, "the truth is, we are insensibly inured to it by degrees; for, when very young, we know no better; being grown up, we are inclined, or persuaded by our near relations, to marry—thence come children, and fondness for them: but above all," says he, "is the *love of our chief*, so strongly is it inculcated to us in our infancy; and, if it were not for that, I think the Highlands would be much thinner of people than they now are." By this, and many other instances, I am fully persuaded, that the Highlanders are at least as fond of the race of their chiefs as a Frenchman is of the house of Bourbon.

Several reasons have just now offered themselves to me, in persuasion to conceal one circumstance of this visit, but your interest with me has prevailed against them all.

The two young ladies, in my saluting them at parting, did me a favour which with you would be thought the utmost invitation; but it is purely innocent with them, and a mark of the highest esteem for their guest. This was no great surprise to me, having received the same compliment several times before in the High-

lands, and even from married women, who I may be sure had no further design in it; and, like the two above-mentioned young women, could never expect to see me again; but I am not singular, for several officers in the army have told me they had received the same courtesy from other females in the hills.

Some of the chiefs have not only personal dislikes and enmity to each other, but there are also hereditary feuds between clan and clan, which have been handed down from one generation to another for several ages.

These quarrels descend to the meanest vassal; and thus, sometimes, an innocent person suffers for crimes committed by his tribe at a vast distance of time before his being began.

When a quarrel begins in words between two Highlanders of different clans, it is esteemed the very height of malice and rancour, and the greatest of all provocations, to reproach one another with the vices or personal defects of their chief, which, for the most part, ends in wounds or death.

Often the monuments of a clan battle, or some particular murder, are the incitements to great mischiefs. The first-mentioned are small heaps of stones, thrown together on the place where every particular man fell in battle; the other is from such a heap first cast upon the spot where

the fact was committed, and afterwards by degrees increased to a high pyramid, by those of the clan that was wronged, in still throwing more stones upon it as they pass by. The former I have seen overgrown with moss, upon wide moors, which showed the number of men that were killed in the action. And several of the latter I have observed in my journeys, that could not be less than fourteen or fifteen feet high, with a base proportionable. Thus, if several men of clans at variance, happen to meet in view of one of these memorials, 'tis odds but one party reproaches the other with all the aggravating circumstances that tradition (which is mostly a liar, either in the whole or a part) has added to the original truth; and then some great mischief ensues. But if a single Highlander of the clan that offended, should be met by two or three more of the others, he is sure to be insulted, and receive some cruel treatment from them.*

* Here the author has certainly been misinformed,—at least it is inconsistent with what we know to be the general character of the Highlanders. Nearly thirty years ago (while the present writer, then a lad, was living in the neighbourhood), at the annual fair, held at Portnacraish, in Appin, a Low-country shepherd, in the service of a gentleman near Glenco, was drinking whiskey with four or five Highland shepherds in the inn. Getting intoxicated, he had been very abusive, and struck several of the party. A tall handsome manly-looking Highlander, with black curly

Thus these heaps of stones, as I have heard an old Highlander complain, continue to occasion the revival of animosities that had their beginning perhaps hundreds of years before any of the parties accused were born: and therefore I think they ought, by authority, to be scattered, and effectually defaced. But some of these monuments have been raised in memory of such as have lost their lives in a journey, by snow, rivers, or other accidents; as was the practice of the eastern nations.

By an old Scotish law, the chief was made

hair, took him by the shoulders, and turned him out of the house. The moment he was at liberty, he turned round, and struck the Highlander violently with his long hazel staff. The Highlander took it from him, snapped it, and threw it away.—At that instant, a pitiful-looking little fellow, rushed out of the house with a great deal of clamorous swaggering, to beat the Lowlander, who, he said, had struck him.—"Be gone, beggar!" said the tall young man, pushing him back; "he struck *me* too, and I think *I* could beat him as well as *you*. He has behaved ill, and I turned him out; he made a bad use of his staff, and I broke it; but no man shall beat him here, and he that lifts his hand to him had as well lift it to me; HE IS A STRANGER, AND HAS NONE TO TAKE HIS PART." The only *stranger* that was present, could have almost worshipped the young man; but nobody else took the least notice of a circumstance so natural and common among them. Yet, had a Stewart or a M'Coll quarrelled with a Campbell over his whiskey, and a general *row* taken place, as was likely to happen, this very young man would have been the most forward in the fray, and played one of the best cudgels in the fair.

accountable for any depredations or other violences committed by his clan upon the borders of the Lowlands; and in extraordinary cases he was obliged to give up his son, or some other nearest relation, as a hostage, for the peaceable behaviour of his followers in that respect.

By this law (for I never saw the act), he must surely have had an entire command over them, at least tacitly, or by inference understood.* For how unreasonable, not to say unjust, must such a restriction have been to him, if by sanction of the same law he had not had a coercive and judicial authority over those, in whose choice and power it always lay to bring punishment upon him? And if he had such an absolute command over them, was it not to make of every chief a petty prince in his own territory, and his followers a people distinct and separate from all others?

For atrocious crimes,—such as rebellion, murder, rapes, or opposing the execution of the laws, which is also called rebellion, when, by process, the chief or laird was condemned in absence, and *intercommuned*, as they call it, or outlawed,—the civil power, by law and custom, gave letters of *fire and sword* against him; and the officer of justice might call for military

* See the extracts from the Records of the Privy Council in the Appendix.

force to assist in the execution. But, it is certain, some few of the chiefs in former times, were, upon occasions, too powerful to be brought to account by the government.

I have heard many instances of the faithfulness of particular Highlanders to their masters, but shall relate only one, which is to me very well known.

At the battle of Glenshiels,* in the rebellion of the year 1719, a gentleman (George Munro of Culcairne), for whom I have a great esteem, commanded a company of Highlandmen, raised out of his father's clan, and entertained at his own expence. There he was dangerously wounded in the thigh, from a party of the rebel Highlanders posted upon the declivity of a mountain, who kept on firing at him after he was down, according to their want of discipline, in

* The battle of Glenshiels, which took place on the 10th of June, 1719, was occasioned by a petty rebellion projected by cardinal Alberoni, and which was to have been supported by the Spaniards. A tempest dispersed the hostile squadron, and only about three hundred forces arrived. The Highlanders made a poor stand at Strachell; but were quickly put to flight, when they had opportunity of destroying the king's forces, by rolling down stones from the heights. Among the clans that appeared in arms, was a large body lent by a neighbouring chieftain, merely for the battle of that one day, and, win or lose, was to return home at night.—*Pennant's Scotland*, vol. ii. 389.

See note on Graham of Gartmores M.S. in the Appendix.

spending much fire upon one single officer, which, distributed among the body, might thin the ranks of their enemy.

When, after he fell, and found by their behaviour they were resolved to dispatch him outright, he bid his servant, who was by, get out of the danger, for he might lose his life, but could be of no manner of succour or service to him; and only desired him, that when he returned home, he would let his father and his family know that he had not misbehaved. Hereupon the Highlander burst out into tears; and asking him how he thought he could leave him in that condition, and what they would think of him at home, set himself down on his hands and knees over his master, and received several wounds, to shield him from further hurt; till one of the clan, who acted as a serjeant, with a small party, dislodged the enemy, after having taken an oath upon his dirk that he would do it. For my own part, I do not see how this act of fidelity is in any way inferior to the so-celebrated one of Philocratus, slave to Caius Gracchus, who likewise covered his master with his body, when he was found by his enemies in a wood, in such manner that Caius could not be killed by them, till they had first dispatched his domestic.

This man has often waited at table when

his master and I dined together, but otherwise is treated more like a friend than a servant.

The Highlanders, in order to persuade a belief of their hardiness, have several rhodomontades on that head; for, as the French proverb says, *Tous les Gascons ne sont pas en France*—"There are vain boasters in other countries besides Gascony." It is true, they are liable to great hardships, and they often suffer by them in their health and limbs, as I have often observed in a former letter.

One of these gasconades is, that the laird of Keppoch, chieftain of a branch of the M'Donalds, in a winter campaign against a neighbouring laird, with whom he was at war about a possession, gave orders for rolling a snow-ball to lay under his head in the night; whereupon his followers murmured, saying, "Now we despair of victory, since our leader is become so effeminate he can't sleep without a pillow."* This and many other like stories are romantic; but there is one thing that at first thought might

* This story is told of twenty lairds and others, and almost every glen has its hard-headed old hero, who upbraided his own son with this alarming symptom of degeneracy. Our campaigns in Spain, and particularly among the Pyrenees, showed that the English also could bear this kind of *bivouacking* much better than their friends at home could have expected.

seem very extraordinary, of which I have been credibly assured, that when the Highlanders are constrained to lie among the hills in cold, dry, windy weather, they sometimes soak the plaid in some river or bourn; and then holding up a corner of it a little above their heads, they turn themselves round and round, till they are enveloped by the whole mantle. Then they lay themselves down on the heath, upon the leeward side of some hill, where the wet and the warmth of their bodies make a steam like that of a boiling kettle. The wet, they say, keeps them warm by thickening the stuff, and keeping the wind from penetrating. I must confess I should myself have been apt to question this fact, had I not frequently seen them wet from morning to night; and even at the beginning of the rain, not so much as stir a few yards to shelter, but continue in it, without necessity, till they were, as we say, wet through and through. And that is soon effected by the looseness and sponginess of the plaiding; but the bonnet is frequently taken off, and wrung like a dish-clout, and then put on again. They have been accustomed from their infancy to be often wet, and to take the water like spaniels; and this is become a second nature, and can scarcely be called a hardship to them, insomuch that I used to say, they seemed to be of the duck kind, and to love the water as

well.* Though I never saw this preparation for sleep in windy weather, yet, setting out early in a morning from one of the huts, I have seen the marks of their lodging, where the ground has been free from rime or snow, which remained all round the spots where they had lain.

The different surnames of the Highlanders in general are but few, in regard they are divided into large families, and hardly any male strangers have intermarried with or settled among them; and with respect to particular tribes, they commonly make that alliance among themselves, who are all of one name, except some few, who may have affected to annex themselves to the

* About twenty-five years ago, a worthy old friend of ours, a true Highlander of the old school (Lieut. Patrick Campbell), indignant at the manner in which he saw the peasantry around him treated by their landlords, took a voyage to North America, with the patriotic view of ascertaining, upon the spot, what was the actual situation of those who had emigrated to that quarter. His journal was printed, and contains much good sense and pertinent remark; but it was not sold, and is not now to be had. Among other old acquaintance whom he met with in Canada, was one Cameron, who, some thirty years before, had been his servant and fellow deer-stalker, when he was ranger of the forest of Mam More; consequently they had spent many an hour together, wet and dry, by night and by day, on the bare hill-sides. Cameron, notwithstanding his early habits, was now become an industrious, well-doing, respectable planter, and possessed of considerable property. When he was out of the way, Mr. Campbell asked his wife and daughters whether he ever talked of the Highlands,

clan, and those, for the most part, assume the name [*without giving up their own.*]

Thus the surnames, being useless for distinction of persons, are suppressed, and there remain only the Christian names; of which there are everywhere a great number of Duncans, Donalds, Alexanders, Patricks, &c. who, therefore, must be some other way distinguished one from another. This is done by some additional names and descriptions taken from their forefathers; for when their own Christian name, with their father's name and description (which is for the most part the colour of the hair), is not

and how far he was contented in his present situation? They said he frequently talked of the Highlands, but seemed, upon the whole, contented enough where he was, only he often complained that *there was not rain enough;* and when a good, plump, sousing shower came, he would go out and stand in it till he was quite drenched; then come, all dripping, into the house, and, with an expression of uncommon satisfaction, observe, "what a comfortable thing *rain* is!" Had this man become *sultan of Egypt*, how unhappy, beyond the common misery of princes, must he have been! On taking leave of a woman whom he had known in the Highlands, Mr. Campbell asked her what he could do to oblige her? "Nothing," she said, "that she could at present think of, unless he could send her *a few stalks of heather*, which she longed exceedingly for—it would do her heart so much good to see it once more! There was a bit of poor ground behind her house, where she had always thought it would grow, if properly taken care of; and she had often heard that there was some to be found on an island which he intended to visit."

sufficient, they add the grandfather's, and so upwards, till they are perfectly distinguished from all others of the same clan-name. As, for example, a man whose name is *Donald Grant*, has for patronymic (as they call it) the name following, *viz.*

Donald Bane, i. e.	White-haired *Donald.*
Mac oil Vane,	Son of Grey-haired *Donald.*
Vic oil roi,	Grandson of red-haired *Donald.*
Vic ean,	Great-grandson to *John.*

Thus, you see, the name of *Grant* is not used, because all of that clan are either so called, or assume that name.

Another thing is, that if this man had descended in a direct line, as eldest, from *John*, the remotest ancestor, and *John* had been a chief, he would only be called *Mac Ean*, leaving out all the intermediate successions by way of eminence.

These pytronymical names, at length, are made use of chiefly in writings, receipts, rentals, &c. and, in ordinary matters, the Highlanders have sometimes other distinctions, which also to some are pretty long.

When numbers of them, composed from different tribes, have been jointly employed in a work, they have had arbitrary and temporary denominations added to their Christian names by their overseers, for the more ready distinction; such as the place they came from, the

person who recommended them, some particular vice, or from something remarkable in their persons, &c. by which fictitious names they have also been set down in the books of their employers.

It is a received notion (but nothing can be more unjust) that the ordinary Highlanders are an indolent, lazy people: I know the contrary by troublesome experience;—I say troublesome, because in a certain affair wherein I had occasion to employ great numbers of them, and gave them good wages, the solicitations of others for employment were very earnest, and would hardly admit of a denial: they are as willing as other people to mend their way of living; and, when they have gained strength from substantial food,* they work as well as others; but why should a people be branded with the name of idlers, in a country where there is generally no profitable business for them to do?

* The common people in Scotland, who are fed with oatmeal, are, in general, neither so strong nor so handsome as the same rank of people in England who are fed with wheaten bread. They neither work so well, nor look so well; and as there is not the same difference between the people of fashion in the two countries, experience would seem to show that the food of the common people in Scotland is not so suitable to the human constitution, as that of their neighbours of the same rank in England. But it seems to be otherwise with potatoes. The chairmen, porters, and coal-heavers in London, and those unfortunate women who

Hence I have concluded, that if any expedient could be found for their employment, to their reasonable advantage, there would be little else wanting to reform the minds of the most savage amongst them. For my own part, I do assure you, that I never had the least reason to complain of the behaviour towards me of any of the ordinary Highlanders, or the Irish; but it wants a great deal that I could truly say as much of the Englishmen and Lowland Scots that were employed in the same business.

One of the chiefs, at his own house, complained to me, but in a friendly manner, as though I had seduced some of his subjects from their allegiance: he had occasion for three or four of those of his clan, whom I employed about a piece of work at home, which they only could do; and, when he was about to pay them for their labour, he offered them six-pence a-day each (being great wages, even if they had not been his vassals), in consideration he had taken them from other employment; upon which they re-

live by prostitution (the strongest men and the most beautiful women perhaps in the British dominions), are said to be the greater part of them from the lowest rank of people in Ireland, who are generally fed with this root. No food can afford a more decisive proof of its nourishing quality, or of its being peculiarly suitable to the health of the human constitution.—*Smith's Wealth of Nations*, vol. i. 251.

monstrated, and said he injured them, in calling them from sixteen-pence a-day to six-pence; and I very well remember he then told me that if any of those people had formerly said as much to their chief, they would have been carried to the next rock and precipitated.

The Highlanders walk nimbly and upright, so that you will never see, among the meanest of them, in the most remote parts, the clumsy, stooping gait of the French *paisans*, or our own country-fellows, but, on the contrary, a kind of stateliness in the midst of their poverty: and this I think may be accounted for without much difficulty.*

They have a pride in their family,† as almost

* All savages, and men who are not accustomed to *stoop* to labour, shepherds, herdsmen, hunters, &c. are, *cæteris paribus*, straight in the shoulders, and free and graceful in their motions: the light dress of the Highlander also is in his favour, and the keen, elastic mountain-air gives a vivacity and vigour to all his motions; and, above all, he was then a bold, high-spirited, and independent character.

† The members of every tribe were tied one to another, not only by the feudal, but by the patriarchal bond; for while the individuals which composed it were vassals, or tenants of their own hereditary chieftain, they were also descended from his family, and could count exactly the degree of their descent; and the right of promigeniture, together with the weakness of the laws to reach inaccessible countries and more inaccessible men, had, in the revolution of centuries, converted these natural principles of connection between the chieftain and his people, into the most

every one is a genealogist: they wear light brogues, or pumps, and are accustomed to skip over rocks and bogs: whereas our country labourers have no such pride, wear heavy, clouted shoes, and are continually dragging their feet out of ploughed land or clays; but those very men, in a short time after they are enlisted into the army, erect their bodies, change their clownish gait, and become smart fellows; and, indeed, the soldiers in general, after being a little accustomed to the toils and difficulties of the country, can, and do, to my knowledge, acquit themselves, in their winter-marches and other hardships, as well as the Highlanders. On the other hand, it is observed that the private men of the independent Highland companies are become less hardy than others, from their great pay (as it is to them), the best lodging the country affords, and warm clothing.*

sacred ties of human life. The castle of the chieftain was a kind of palace, to which every man of his tribe was made welcome, and where he was entertained, according to his station, in time of peace, and to which all flocked at the sound of war. Thus the meanest of the clan, believing himself to be as well-born as the head of it, revered his chieftain and respected himself.—*Dalrymple's Memoirs of Great Britain.*

* This offers a practical justification of the aversion of the Highland chiefs to the introduction of many improvements of convenience into their country. Perpetual wants, that can seldom be gratified, are very inconvenient and uncomfortable.

I cannot forbear to tell you, before I conclude, that many of those *private gentlemen* have *gillys*, or servants to attend them in quarters, and upon a march to carry their provisions and firelocks;* but, as I have happened to touch upon those companies, it may not be amiss to go a little further, for I think I have just room enough for it in this sheet.

There are six of them, viz. three of one hundred men, and three of sixty each, in all, four hundred and eighty men. These are chiefly tenants to the captains; and one of the *centurions*, or captains of a hundred, is said to strip his other tenants of their best plaids wherewith to clothe his soldiers against a review, and to commit many other abuses of his trust. These captains are all of them vying with each other whose company shall best perform the manual exercise; so that four hundred and eighty men, besides the changes made among them, are sufficient to teach that part of the military discipline throughout the whole Highlands.

I am not a prophet, nor the son of a prophet, or even *second-sighted*, yet I forsee that a time may come when the institution of these corps

* It was not pride, but kindness, that led these poor fellows to share their pittance with such of their clansmen as had no other honest means of subsistence.

may be thought not to have been the best of policy. I am not unaware it may be said, they are raised in order to facilitate the *disarming*, and they are useful to prevent the stealing of cattle; but both those reasons are not sufficient to alter my opinion of their continuance.

LETTER XX.

THE gentry may be said to be a handsome people, but the commonalty much otherwise; one would hardly think, by their faces, they were of the same species, at least of the same country, which plainly proceeds from their bad food, smoke at home, and sun, wind, and rain abroad; because the young children have as good features as any I have seen in other parts of the island.

I have mentioned the sun in this northern climate as partly the cause of their disguise, for that, as I said before, in summer, the heat, by reflection from the rocks, is excessive; at the same time, the cold on the tops of the hills is so vast an extreme as cannot be conceived by any but those who have felt the difference, and know the danger of so sudden a tradition from one to the other; and this likewise has its effect upon them.

The ordinary natives are, for the most part, civil when they are kindly used, but most mischievous when much offended, and will hardly

ever forgive a provocation, but seek some open or secret revenge, and, generally speaking, the latter of the two.

A Highland town, as before mentioned, is composed of a few huts* for dwellings, with barns and stables, and both the latter are of a more diminutive size than the former, all irregularly placed, some one way, some another, and, at any distance, look like so many heaps of dirt; these are built in glens and straths, which are the corn-countries, near rivers and rivulets, and also on the sides of lakes, where there is some arable land for the support of the inhabitants: but I am now to speak of the manner in

* Their cottages are in general miserable habitations; they are built of round stones without any cement, thatched with sods, and sometimes heath; they are generally, though not always, divided by a wicker partition into two apartments, in the larger of which the family reside: it serves likewise as a sleeping-room for them all. In the middle of this room is the fire, made of peat placed on the floor, and over it, by means of a hook, hangs the pot for dressing the victuals. There is frequently a hole in the roof to allow exit to the smoke; but this is not directly over the fire, on account of the rain; and very little of the smoke finds its way out of it, the greatest part, after having filled every corner of the room, coming out of the door, so that it is almost impossible for any one unaccustomed to it to breathe in the hut. The other apartment, to which you enter by the same door, is reserved for cattle and poultry, when these do not choose to mess and lodge with the family.—*Garnett's Tour*, vol. i. 121.

which the lower order of the Highlanders live, and shall begin with the spring of the year.

This is a bad season with them, for then their provision of oatmeal begins to fail, and, for a supply, they bleed their cattle,* and boil the blood into cakes, which, together with a little milk and a short allowance of oatmeal, is their food. It is true, there are small trouts, or something like them, in some of the little rivers, which continue in holes among the rocks, which are always full of water, when the stream has quite ceased for want of rain; these might be a help to them in this starving† season; but I

* In winter, when the grounds are covered with snow, and when the naked wilds afford them neither shelter nor subsistence, the few cows, small, lean, and ready to drop down through want of pasture, are brought into the hut where the family resides, and frequently share with them their little stock of meal, which had been purchased or raised for the family only, while the cattle thus sustained are bled occasionally to afford nourishment for the children, after it has been boiled or made into cakes.—*Knox's View of the British Empire*, vol. i. 124.

† To the distressing circumstances at home, new difficulties and toils await the devoted farmer when abroad. In hopes of gaining a little money to pay his rent, or a little fish to support his family, he leaves his wife and infants, at the commencement of the fishery, in October, accompanied by his sons, brothers, and frequently an aged parent, and embarks in a small, open boat, in quest of herrings, with no other provisions than oatmeal, potatoes, and fresh water—no other bedding than heath or brushwood, one end of the boat being covered with an old sail, to defend

have had so little notion in all my journeys that they made those fish a part of their diet, that I never once thought of them as such till this moment. It is likely they cannot catch them for want of proper tackle, but I am sure they cannot be without them for want of leisure. What may seem strange is, that they do not introduce roots among them (as potatoes,* for the

them from the inclemencies of the seas and skies. Thus provided, he searches, from bay to bay, through turbulent seas, frequently for several weeks together, before the shoals of herrings are discovered. The glad tidings seem to vary, but not to diminish, his fatigues; unremitting nightly labour, pinching cold winds, heavy seas, uninhabited shores, covered with snow, or deluged with rain, contribute towards filling up the measure of his distresses, while, to men of such exquisite feelings as the Highlanders generally possess, the scene which awaits him at home does it most effectually.—*Knox's View of the British Empire*, vol. i. 126.

* In many parts of the Highlands, at present, the poor oppressed and rack-rented peasants live for nine months of the year upon potatoes and salt, and upon meal of oats and barley during the other three. Those who live in the inland glens cannot procure fish: milk and butter also are seldom within their reach, and there is no beer in the country. Butcher's meat they never taste, except at Christmas, when a sheep, perhaps, is killed, and, while the other parts are eaten fresh to celebrate that season of festivity, the legs are cured and made into hams, to entertain any more respected friend who may pay them a visit; yet, under these circumstances, when the small collections made in the churches, &c. for the poor (and to which these very people have been the principal contributors), are to be distributed, such is their spirit of independence, and abhorrence of pauperism, that the

purpose); but the land they occupy is so very little, they think they cannot spare any part of it from their corn, and the landlord's demand of rent in kind is another objection. You will perceive I am speaking only of the poor people in the interior parts of the mountains; for near the coast, all around them, there are few confined to such diminutive farms, and the most necessitous of all may share, upon occasion, the benefit of various kinds of shell-fish, only for seeking and fetching.

Their cattle are much weakened by want of sufficient food in the preceding winter, and this immoderate bleeding reduces them to so low a plight that in the morning they cannot rise from

clergymen and elders are often obliged to employ as much address in discovering objects of charity, as is required in England, on similar occasions, to avoid imposition, and get rid of unworthy and insolent claimants. It is also not uncommon for several such poor families, who themselves know the advantages of education only by the want of them, to unite in procuring some poor lad, who can read and write, to teach their children, with whom he removes by turns from one cottage to another. It is painful to us to add, that this is not done in the cheering hope of seeing their offspring grow up to be the support, blessing, and ornament, of their declining years—with the bitter certainty of seeing them driven into *perpetual exile (the punishment of felons!)* by their landlords and tacksmen, they subject themselves to every possible privation, in order that, when forced to quit all that is dearest to them, and seek for shelter among strangers, they may be upon

the ground, and several of the inhabitants join together to help up each other's cows, &c.

In summer the people remove to the hills, and dwell in much worse huts than those they leave below; these are near the spots of grazing, and are called *shealings*, scattered from one another as occasion requires. Every one has his particular space of pasture, for which, if it be not a part of his farm, he pays, as I shall mention hereafter. Here they make their butter and cheese. By the way, I have seen some of the former with blueish veins, made, as I thought, by the mixture of smoke, not much unlike to Castile soap; but some have said it was a mixture of sheep's milk which gave a part of it that tincture of blue.

some footing of equality with those among whom it may be their fate to live: their infatuated landlords will soon find in the waste wildernesses, which their injudicious and unfeeling policy is spreading around them, how miserably they have miscalculated as to their own profit as well as honour. But they are become strangers to their tenants, and no wonder if their tenants are estranged from them. What is most distressing to the more wise and humane landlords is, that smuggling is everywhere practised *from necessity*, by the *oppressed* people who have no other means of paying their rents; and the vices and deterioration of character, which always accompany illicit practices and exasperated feelings, are spreading rapidly, by the contagion of intercourse and example, from *them* to those, who, being more kindly and rationally treated, might otherwise retain such virtues as they once had, and acquire others which belong to a more cultivated age.

When the grazing fails, the Highlanders return to their former habitations, and the cattle to pick up their sustenance among the heath,* as before.

At other times the children share the milk with the calves, lambs, and kids; for they milk the dams of them all, which keeps their young so lean that when sold in the Low-country they are chiefly used, as they tell me, to make soups withal; and when a side of any one of these kinds hangs up in our market the least disagreeable part of the sight is the transparency of the ribs.

About the latter end of August, or the beginning of September, the cattle are brought into good order by their summer feed, and the beef is extremely sweet and succulent, which, I suppose, is owing, in good part, to their being

* There is a vegetable common in Britain, that grows in very great abundance among the heaths and woods of the Highlands, which formerly was much esteemed, and is still resorted to occasionally by the inhabitants; it is the *orobus tuberosus*, or heath-peasling; it has purple papilionaceous flowers, succeeded by a pod containing about twelve dark-coloured seeds resembling small shot. The roots of this plant, when boiled, are very savoury and nutritious, and, when dried and ground into powder, may be made into bread. A great quantity of this plant grows among the woods of Glenmore, and the Highlanders frequently chew the root like tobacco, asserting that a small quantity prevents the uneasy sensation of hunger.—*Garnett's Tour*, vol. i. 337.

reduced to such poverty in the spring, and made up again with new flesh.

Now, the drovers collect their herds, and drive them to fairs and markets on the borders of the Lowlands, and sometimes to the north of England; and in their passage they pay a certain tribute, proportionable to the number of cattle, to the owner of the territory they pass through, which is in lieu of all reckonings for grazing.

I have several times seen them driving great numbers of cattle along the sides of the mountains at a great distance, but never, except once, was near them. This was in a time of rain, by a wide river, where there was a boat to ferry over the drovers.* The cows were about fifty in number, and took the water like

* Vast numbers of cattle are supplied annually from the Isle of Skye; they pass from that island to the main-land by the ferry of Caol-rea: they are made to swim across this rapid current: for this purpose the drovers purchase ropes, which are cut at the length of three feet, having a noose at one end; this noose is put round the under-jaw of every cow, taking care to leave the tongue free, that the animal may be able to keep the salt water from going down its throat; they are then led into the water until they are afloat, which puts an end to their resistance. One cow is then tied to the tail of another, and a man in the stern of the boat having hold of the foremost, the boat is rowed over. From this constant practice the ferrymen are so dexterous that very few beasts are lost.—*Robertson's Inverness*, xxxviii.

spaniels; and when they were in, their drivers made a hideous cry to urge them forwards: this, they told me, they did to keep the foremost of them from turning about; for, in that case, the rest would do the like, and then they would be in danger, especially the weakest of them, to be driven away and drowned by the torrent. I thought it a very odd sight to see so many noses and eyes just above water, and nothing of them more to be seen, for they had no horns, and upon the land they appeared like so many large Lincolnshire calves.

I shall speak of the Highland harvest,—that is, the autumn, when I come to the article of their husbandry. But nothing is more deplorable than the state of these people in time of winter. They are in that season often confined to their glens by swollen rivers, snow, or ice in the paths on the sides of the hills, which is accumulated by drippings from the springs above, and so, by little and little, formed into knobs like a stick of sugar-candy, only the parts are not angular like those, but so uneven and slippery no foot can pass.

They have no diversions to amuse them, but sit brooding in the smoke over the fire till their legs and thighs are scorched to an extraordinary degree, and many have sore eyes, and some are quite blind. This long continuance in the

smoke makes them almost as black as chimney-sweepers; and when the huts are not water-tight, which is often the case, the rain that comes through the roof and mixes with the sootiness of the inside, where all the sticks look like charcoal, falls in drops like ink. But, in this circumstance, the Highlanders are not very solicitous about their outward appearance.

To supply the want of candles, when they have occasion for more light than is given by the fire, they provide themselves with a quantity of sticks of fir, the most resinous that can be procured: some of these are lighted and laid upon a stone; and as the light decays they revive it with fresh fuel.* But when they happen to be destitute of fire, and none is to be got in the neighbourhood, they produce it by rubbing sticks together; but I do not recollect what kind of wood is fittest for that purpose.

If a drift of snow from the mountains happens, and the same should be of any continuance, they are thereby rendered completely prisoners. In this case, the snow, being whirled

* Resinous splinters of fir, dug out of bogs, are used as candles by very poor people in the north of Europe, and indeed in most countries where such things are found. In England, where the lower classes are not remarkable for economical ingenuity, this is seldom met with, although we have seen it both in Cheshire and Lancashire.

from the mountains and hills, lodges in the plains below, till sometimes it increases to a height almost equal with the tops of their huts; but then it is soon dissolved for a little space round them, which is caused by the warmth of the fire, smoke, family, and cattle within.

Thus are they confined to a very narrow compass; and, in the mean time, if they have any out-lying cattle in the hills, they are leaving the heights and returning home; for by the same means that the snow is accumulated in the glen, the hills are cleared of the incumbrance, but the cattle are sometimes intercepted by the depth of snow in the plain, or deep hollows, in their way. In such case, when the wind's drift begins to cease, from the wind having a little spent its fury, the people take the following method to open a communication:—if the huts are at any distance asunder, one of them begins at the edge of the snow next to his dwelling, and, waving his body from side to side, presses forward and squeezes it from him on either hand; and if it be higher than his head he breaks down that part with his hands. Thus he proceeds till he comes to another hut, and when some of them are got together they go on in the same manner to open a way for the cattle; and in thus doing they relieve one another, when too wet and weary to proceed

further, till the whole is completed. Yet, notwithstanding all their endeavours, their cattle are sometimes lost.

As this may seem to you a little too extraordinary, and you will believe I never saw it, I shall assure you I had it from a gentleman, who, being nearly related to a chief, has therefore a considerable farm in the inner Highlands, and would not deceive me in a fact that does not recommend his country, of which he is as jealous as any one I have known on this side the Tweed.

A drift of snow, like that above described, was said to have been the ruin of the Swedish army, in the last expedition of Charles XII.

Before I proceed to their husbandry, I shall give you some account of an animal necessary to it; that is, their horses, or rather (as they are called) garrons. These horses in miniature run wild among the mountains; some of them till they are eight or ten years old, which renders them exceedingly restive and stubborn. There are various ways of catching them, according to the nature of the spot of country where they chiefly keep their haunts. Sometimes they are hunted by numbers of Highlandmen into a bog; in other places they are driven up a steep hill, where the nearest of the pursuers endeavours to catch them by the hind-

leg; and I have been told, that sometimes both horse and man have come tumbling down together. In another place they have been hunted from one to another, among the heath and rocks, till they have laid themselves down through weariness and want of breath.

They are so small that a middle-sized man must keep his legs almost in lines parallel to their sides when carried over the stony ways; and it is almost incredible to those who have not seen it, how nimbly they skip with a heavy rider among the rocks and large moor-stones, turning zig-zag to such places as are passable. I think verily they all follow one another in the same irregular steps, because in those ways there appears some little smoothness, worn by their naked hoofs, which is not anywhere else to be seen. When I have been riding, or rather creeping along at the foot of a mountain, I have discovered them by their colour, which is mostly white, and, by their motion, which readily catches the eye, when, at the same time, they were so high above me, they seemed to be no bigger than a lap-dog, and almost hanging over my head. But what has appeared to me very extraordinary is, that when, at other times, I have passed near to them, I have perceived them to be (like some of our common beggars in London) in ragged and tattered coats, but full in

flesh; and that, even toward the latter end of winter, when I think they could have nothing to feed upon but heath and rotten leaves of trees, if any of the latter were to be found. The Highlanders have a tradition that they came originally from Spain, by breeders left there by the Spaniards in former times; and they say, they have been a great number of years dwindling to their present diminutive size. I was one day greatly diverted with the method of taming these wild hobbies.

In passing along a narrow path, on the side of a high hill among the mountains, at length it brought me to a part looking down into a little plain, there I was at once presented with the scene of a Highlandman beating one of these garrons, most unmercifully, with a great stick; and, upon a stricter view, I perceived the man had tied a rope, or something like it, about one of his hind-legs, as you may have seen a single hog driven in England; and, indeed, in my situation, he did not seem so big. At the same time the horse was kicking and violently struggling, and sometimes the garron was down and sometimes the Highlander, and not seldom both of them together, but still the man kept his hold.

After waiting a considerable time to see the event, though not so well pleased with the pre-

cipice I stood upon, I found the garron gave it up; and, being perfectly conquered for that time, patiently suffered himself to be driven to a hut not far from the field of battle.

I was desirous to ask the Highlander a question or two by the help of my guide, but there were no means for me to get down but by falling; and when I came to a part of the hill where I could descend to the glen, I had but little inclination to go back again, for I never, by choice, made one retrograde step when I was leaving the mountains: but what is pretty strange, though very true (by what charm I know not), I have been well enough pleased to see them again, at my first entrance to them in my returns from England; and this has made my wonder cease that a native should be so fond of such a country.

The soil of the corn-lands is, in some places, so shallow, with rocky ground beneath it, that a plough is of no manner of use.* This they

* The corn-grounds often lie in such intricacies among the crags, that there is no room for the action of a team and plough. The soil is then turned up by manual labour, with an instrument called a crooked spade, of a form and weight which to me appeared very incommodious, and would perhaps be soon improved in a country where workmen could be easily found and easily paid: it has a narrow blade of iron fixed to a long and heavy piece of wood, which must have, about a foot and a half above the iron, a knee, or flexure, with the angle downwards. When

dig up with a wooden spade; for almost all their implements for husbandry, which in other countries are made of iron, or partly of that metal, are, in some parts of the Highlands, entirely made of wood,—such as the spade, plough-share, harrow, harness, and bolts; and even locks for doors are made of wood. By the way, these locks are contrived so artfully, by notches made at unequal distances within-side, that it is impossible to open them with any thing but the wooden keys that belong to them. But there would be no great difficulty in opening the wall of the hut, as the Highlander did by the portmanteau that he saw lying upon a table, and nobody near it but his companion. "Out!" says he; "what fool was this that put a lock upon leather?"* and immediately ripped it open with his dirk.

Where the soil is deeper they plough with four of their little horses abreast.† The man-

the farmer encounters a stone, which is the great impediment of his operations, he drives the blade under it, and, bringing the knee, or angle, to the ground, has, in the long handle, a very forcible lever.—*Johnson's Journey*, Works, vol. viii. 301.

* In England, this story is told of an Irishman; and in every nation in Europe of those of whom they are accustomed to tell such stories.

† In the north of Europe (Russia) it is not unusual to see four horses a-breast even in a gentleman's travelling-carriage. Men of rank, among the ancient Persians, drove eight a-breast in their scythed war-chariots.

ner this:—Being thus ranked they are divided by a small space into pairs, and the driver, or rather leader, of the plough having placed himself before them, holding the two innermost by their heads to keep the couples asunder, he with his face toward the plough, goes backward, observing, through the space between the horses, the way of the ploughshare.

When I first saw this awkward method, as I then thought it, I rode up to the person who guided the machine, to ask him some questions concerning it: he spoke pretty good English, which made me conclude he was a gentleman; and yet, in quality of a proprietor and conductor, might, without dishonour, employ himself in such a work. My first question was, whether that method was common to the Highlands, or peculiar to that part of the country? and, by way of answer, he asked me, if they ploughed otherwise anywhere else? Upon my further inquiry why the man went backwards? he stopped, and very civilly informed me that there were several small rocks, which I did not see, that had a little part of them just peeping on the surface, and therefore it was necessary his servant should see and avoid them, by guiding the horses accordingly, or otherwise his plough might be spoiled by the shock. The answer was satisfactory and convincing, and

I must here take notice that many other of their methods are too well suited to their own circumstances, and those of the country, to be easily amended by such as undertake to deride them.

In the western Highlands they still retain that barbarous custom (which I have not seen anywhere else) of drawing the harrow by the horse's dock, without any manner of harness whatever. And when the tail becomes too short for the purpose, they lengthen it out with twisted sticks. This unnatural practice was formerly forbidden in Ireland by act of parliament, as my memory informs me, from accounts I have formerly read of that country; for being almost without books I can have little other help wherefrom to make quotations.

When a burden is to be carried on horseback they use two baskets, called *creels*, one on each side of the horse; and if the load be such as cannot be divided, they put it into one of them, and counterbalance it with stones in the other, so that one half of the horse's burden is—I cannot say unnecessary, because I do not see how they could do otherwise in the mountains.

Their harvest is late in the year, and therefore seldom got in dry, as the great rains* usually

* The latter part of the season is often very wet; and the corn, particularly oats, suffer very much. June and August are the

come on about the latter end of August: nor is the corn well preserved afterwards in those miserable hovels they call barns, which are mostly not fit to keep out the bad weather from above; and were it not for the high winds that pass through the openings of the sides in dry weather, it would of necessity be quite spoiled. But as it is, the grain is often grown in the sheaves, as I have observed in a former letter.

To the lightness of the oats, one might think they contributed themselves; for if there be one part of their ground that produces worse grain than another, they reserve that, or part of it, for seed, believing it will produce again as well, in quantity and quality, as the best; but, whether in this they are right or wrong, I cannot determine.

Another thing, besides the bad weather, that retards their harvest, is, they make it chiefly the work of the women of the family. Near the Lowlands I have known a field of corn to employ a woman and a girl for a fortnight, which, with

months which have least rain: September and October are frequently very wet: during these months, not only a greater quantity of rain falls, but it is more constant, accompanied by a cold and cloudy atmosphere, which is very unfavourable either to the ripening of grain, or drying it after it is cut. In July and August a good deal of rain falls; but it is in heavy showers, and the intervals are fine, the sun shining clear and bright often for several days together.—*Garnett's Tour*, vol. i. 24.

proper help, might have been done in two days. And, although the owner might not well afford to employ many hands, yet his own labour* would have prevented half the risk of bad weather at that uncertain season.

An English lady, who found herself something decaying in her health, and was advised to go among the Hills, and drink goat's milk or whey, told me lately, that seeing a Highlander basking at the foot of a hill in his full dress, while his wife and her mother were hard at work in reaping the oats, she asked the old woman how she could be contented to see her daughter labour in that manner, while her husband was only an idle spectator? And to this the woman answered, that her son-in-law was a *gentleman*, and it would be a disparagement to him to do any such work; and that both she and her daughter too were sufficiently honoured by the alliance.

This instance, I own, has something particular in it, as such; but the thing is very common, *à la Palatine*, among the middling sort of people.

* The Highlander at home is indolent. It is with impatience that he allows himself to be diverted from his favourite occupation of traversing the mountains and moors in looking after his flocks, a few days in spring and autumn, for the purposes of his narrow scheme of agriculture. It is remarked, however, that the Highlander, when removed beyond his native bounds, is found capable of abundant exertion and industry.—*Graham's Perthshire*, 235.

Not long ago, a French officer, who was coming hither the Hill way, to raise some recruits for the Dutch service, met a Highlandman with a good pair of brogues on his feet, and his wife marching bare-foot after him. This indignity to the sex raised the Frenchman's anger to such a degree, that he leaped from his horse, and obliged the fellow to take off the shoes, and the woman to put them on.*

By this last instance (not to trouble you with others) you may see it is not in their harvest-work alone they are something in the *Palatine* way with respect to their women.

The Highlanders have a notion that the moon, in a clear night, ripens their corn much more than a sun-shiny day: for this they plead ex-

* This Frenchman was certainly a Gascon. Had he dared to attempt such an extraordinary insolence, and had a Highlander been found who was base enough to submit to be so cowed in the presence of his wife, the good dame would assuredly have resented and resisted such an indignity offered to her husband and herself, and put the Frenchman's gallantry to a severe test. The real state of the sex in France and in the Highlands of Scotland, is as opposite to what it appears to be, as these people are to each other, or as any two extremes can well be. There is no country in Europe where women are less esteemed than in France, or more than in the Highlands. In France, they are *adored* and *despised*, as relics are by the priest who has manufactured them to impose upon others; in the Highlands, an unfaithful, unkind, or even careless husband, is so rare as to be looked upon as a monster.

perience; yet they cannot say by what rule they make the comparison. But, by this opinion of theirs, I think they have little knowledge of the nature of those two planets.*

In larger farms, belonging to gentlemen of the clan, where there are any number of women employed in harvest-work, they all keep time together, by several barbarous tones of the voice;

The present writer has seen a stout old fellow, of the very lowest class, in Ardgour, take his wife and daughter, with wicker baskets on their backs, to a dunghill, fill their baskets with manure, and send them to spread it with their hands on the croft; then, with his great coat on, lay himself down on the lee side of the heap, to bask and chew tobacco till they returned for another load! A stranger, who merely looked at the outside of things, would hardly believe that this man was a kind and tender husband and father, as he really was. The maxim that *such work* (which must be done by some one) *spoils the men*, has been so long received as unquestionable by the women, that it makes a part of their nature; and a wife would despise her husband, and expect the contempt of her neighbours on her husband's account, if he were so forgetful of himself, as to attempt to do such a thing, unless *her* situation at the time did not admit of her doing it.

* This vulgar error is not peculiar to the Highlands. The reasoning upon the subject seems to be pretty much of a piece with that of the old man in Latimer's sermons, who imputed the accumulation of Godwin Sands to the building of Salisbury steeple, "because there were no sands there till after the steeple was built." The state of the atmosphere, that shows a broad, bright harvest-moon to advantage, is always favourable to the ripening of corn; and the Moon, like many other beauties, is, perhaps, admired for a virtue she has little claim to.

and stoop and rise together as regularly as a rank of soldiers when they ground their arms. Sometimes they are incited to their work by the sound of a bagpipe; and by either of these they proceed with great alacrity, it being disgraceful for any one to be out of time with the sickle. They use the same tone, or a piper, when they thicken the newly-woven plaiding, instead of a fulling-mill.

This is done by six or eight women sitting upon the ground, near some river or rivulet, in two opposite ranks, with the wet cloth between them; their coats are tucked up, and with their naked feet they strike one against another's, keeping exact time as above-mentioned. And among numbers of men, employed in any work that requires strength and joint labour (as the launching a large boat, or the like), they must have the piper to regulate their time, as well as usky to keep up their spirits in the performance; for pay they often have little, or none at all.

Nothing is more common than to hear the Highlanders boast how much their country might be improved, and that it would produce double what it does at present if better husbandry were introduced among them. For my own part, it was always the only amusement I had in the hills, to observe every minute thing in my way; and I do assure you, I do not re-

member to have seen the least spot that would bear corn uncultivated, not even upon the sides of the hills, where it could be no otherwise broke up than with a spade. And as for manure to supply the salts and enrich the ground they have hardly any. In summer their cattle are dispersed about the *sheelings*, and almost all the rest of the year in other parts of the hills; and, therefore, all the dung they can have must be from the trifling quantity made by the cattle while they are in the house. I never knew or heard of any limestone,* chalk, or marl, they have in the country; and, if some of their rocks might serve for limestone, in that case their kilns, carriage, and fuel would render it so expensive, it would be the same thing to them as if there were none. Their great dependence is upon the nitre of the snow; and they lament the disappointment if it does not fall early in the season. Yet I have known, in some, a great inclination to improvement; and shall only instance a very small matter, which, perhaps, may be thought too inconsiderable to mention.

Not far from Fort William, I have seen women with a little horse-dung brought upon their

* In many parts they have hardly any thing else. The whole islands of Lismore, Shuna, &c. are lime-stone rock, covered with a very thin surface of earth. Chalk they have none, and no marl worth speaking of, so far as we know.

backs, in *creels*, or baskets, from that garrison; and, on their knees, spreading it with their hands upon the land, and even breaking the balls, that every part of the little spot might have its due proportion.

These women have several times brought me hay to the fort, which was made from grass cut with a knife by the way-side; and from one I have bought two or three pennyworth; from another, the purchase has been a groat; but six-pennyworth was a most considerable bargain.

At their return from the hay-market, they carried away the dung of my stable (which was one end of a dwelling-hut) in the manner above-mentioned.

Speaking of grass and hay, it comes to my remembrance, that, in passing through a space between the mountains, not far from Keppoch, in Lochaber, I observed, in the hollow, though too narrow to admit much of the sun, a greater quantity of grass than I remembered to have seen in any such spot in the inner parts of the Highlands; it was in the month of August, when it was grown rank, and flagged pretty much, and therefore I was induced to ask why the owner did not cut it. To this I was answered, it never had been mowed, but was left every year as natural hay for the cattle in winter,—that is, to lie upon the ground like litter, and, ac-

cording to their description, the cows routed for it in the snow, like hogs in a dunghill. But the people have no barns fit to contain a quantity of hay, and it would be impossible to secure it in mows from the tempestuous eddy-winds, which would soon carry it over the mountains: besides, it could not well be made, by reason of rains and want of sun, and therefore they think it best to let it lie as it does, with the roots in the ground.

The advantage of enclosures is a mighty topic with the Highlanders, though they cannot spare for grass one inch of land that will bear corn; if they could, it would be a much more expensive way of grazing their cattle than letting them run as they do in the hills; but enclosures, simply as such, do not better the soil, or, if they might be supposed to be an advantage to it, where is the Highland tenant that can lay out ten shillings for that purpose? and what would he be the gainer by it in the end, but to have his rent raised, or his farm divided with some other? or, lastly, where are the number of Highlanders that would patiently suffer such an inconvenient innovation? For my part, I think nature has sufficiently inclosed their lands by the feet of the surrounding mountains. Now, after what has been said, where can this improvement be? Yet, it seems, they had rather

you should think them ignorant, lazy, or anything else, than entertain a bad opinion of their country. But I have dwelt too long upon this head.

Their rent is chiefly paid in kind,—that is to say, great part of it in several species arising from the product of the farm; such as barley, oatmeal, and what they call *customs*, as sheep, lambs, poultry, butter, &c. and the remainder, if any, is paid in money, or an addition of some one of the before-mentioned species, if money be wanting.

The gentlemen, who are near relations of the chief, hold pretty large farms, if the estate will allow it,—perhaps twenty or thirty pounds a-year, and they again, generally, parcel them out to under-tenants in small portions: hence it comes, that, by such a division of an old farm (part of an upper-tenant's holding), suppose among eight persons, each of them pays an eighth part of every thing, even to the fraction of a capon, which cannot in the nature of it be paid in kind, but the value of it is cast in with the rest of the rent, and, notwithstanding the above-mentioned customs are placed in an upper-tenant's rental, yet they properly belong to the chief, for the maintenance of the family in provisions.*

* A large taker, or leaseholder, of land is denominated *a tacksman*; he keeps part of the land in his own hand, and lets part to

Every year, after the harvest, the sheriff of the county, or his deputy, together with a jury of landed men, set a rate upon corn-provisions, and the custom of the country regulates the rest. The sheriff's regulation for the year is called the *feers-price*, and serves for a standard whereby to determine everything relating to rents and bargains; so that if the tenant is not provided with all the species he is to pay, then that which is wanting may be converted into money, or something else with certainty.

Before I conclude this letter, I shall take notice of one thing, which, at first, I thought pretty

under-tenants. The tacksman is necessarily a person capable of securing to the laird the whole rent, and is commonly a collateral relation. These tacks, or subordinate possessions, were long considered as hereditary, and the occupant was distinguished by the name of the place at which he resided: he held a middle station, by which the highest and the lowest orders were connected: he paid rent and reverence to the laird, and received them from the tenants. This tenure still subsists with its original operation, but not with the primitive stability; since the islanders, no longer content to live, have learned the desire of growing rich, an ancient dependent is in danger of giving way to a higher bidder, at the expence of domestic dignity and hereditary power. The stranger, whose money buys him preference, considers himself as paying for all that he has, and is indifferent about the laird's honour or safety. The commodiousness of money is, indeed, great; but there are some advantages which money cannot buy, and which therefore no wise man will, by the love of money, be tempted to forego.—*Johnson's Journey*, Works, vol. viii. 311.

extraordinary, and that is, if any landed man refuses, or fails to pay the king's tax, then, by a warrant from the civil magistrate, a proportionable number of soldiers are quartered upon him, with sometimes a commissioned officer to command them, all of whom he must maintain till the cess is fully discharged.* This is a penalty for his default, even though he had not the means to raise money in all that time; and, let it be ever so long, the tax in the end is still the same. You will not doubt that the men, thus living upon free-quarters, use the best interests with their officers to be sent on such parties.

* This oppressive measure was first adopted during the troubles and miseries of Scotland in the latter part of the reign of Charles I., and afterwards continued as an engine to be employed against *Malignants* and disaffected persons.

LETTER XXI.

You will, it is likely, think it strange that many of the Highland tenants are to maintain a family upon a farm of twelve merks Scots *per annum*, which is thirteen shillings and fourpence sterling, with perhaps a cow or two, or a very few sheep or goats; but often the rent is less, and the cattle are wanting.

In some rentals you may see seven or eight columns of various species of rent, or more, viz. money, barley, oatmeal, sheep, lambs, butter, cheese, capons, &c.; but every tenant does not pay all these kinds, though many of them the greatest part. What follows is a specimen taken out of a Highland rent-roll, and I do assure you it is genuine, and not the least by many:—

	Scots Money.			English.			Butter. *Stones.*	*lb.*	*oz.*	Oatmeal. *Bolls.*	*B.*	*P.*	*Lip.*	Muttons.
Donald mac Oil vic ille Challum..	£3	10	4	£0	5	10⅛	0	3	2	0	2	1	3	⅛ and 1/16
Murdoch mac illi Christ.....	5	17	6	0	9	9⅛	0	6	4	0	3	3	3	¼ and 1/16
Duncan mac illi Phadrick.....	7	0	6	0	12	3½	0	7	8	1	0	3	0½	¼ and ⅛

I shall here give you a computation of the first article, besides which there are seven more of the same farm and rent, as you may perceive by the fraction of a sheep in the last column :—

The money.....	£0	5	10⅛	*Sterling.*
The butter, three pounds two ounces, at 4 *d. per lb*.....	0	1	1½	
Oatmeal, 2 bushels, 1 peck, 3 lippys and ¼, at 6 *d. per peck*..	0	4	9¼ and ⅛	
Sheep, one-eighth and one-sixteenth, at 2 *s*.	0	0	4½	
The yearly rent of the farm is	0	12	1½ and 1/12	

The landlord has, by law, an *hypothic*, or right of pledge, with respect to the corn, for so much as the current year's rent, and may, and often does, by himself or his bailiff, see it reaped to his own use; or, if that is not done, he may seize it in the market or anywhere else: but this last privilege of the landlord does not extend to the crop or rent of any former year.

The poverty of the tenants has rendered it customary for the chief, or laird, to free some of them, every year, from all arrears of rent; this is supposed, upon an average, to be about one year in five of the whole estate.

If the tenant is to hire his grazing in the hills, he takes it by *soumes*;—a *soume* is as much grass as will maintain four sheep; eight sheep are equal to a cow and a calf, or forty goats; but I do not remember how much is paid for every *soume*. The reason of this disproportion between the goats and sheep is, that, after the sheep have eaten the pasture bare, the herbs, as thyme, &c. that are left behind, are of little or no value, except for the browsing of goats.

The laird's income is computed by *chalders* of victuals, as they are called;—a *chalder* is sixteen bolls of corn, each boll containing about six of our bushels, and therefore, when any one speaks of the yearly value of such a laird's estate, he tells you it is so many *chalders;* but the mea-

sure varies something in different parts of the country.

When a son is born to the chief of a family, there generally arises a contention among the vassals which of them shall have the fostering* of the child when it is taken from the nurse; and by this means such differences are some-

* By this singular custom, which equally prevailed among the Scoto-Irish, till recent times, children were mutually given from different families to be, by strangers, nursed and bred. The lower orders considered this trust as an honour rather than a service, for which an adequate reward was either given or expected. The attachment of those who were thus educated is said to have been indissoluble, "for there is no love in the world comparable," saith Camden, "by many degrees to that of foster-brethren in Ireland." From this practice arose connection of family and union of tribes, which often prompted and sometimes prevented civil feuds.—*Chalmers's Caledonia*, vol. i. 311.

The terms of fosterage vary in different islands: in Mull, the father sends with his child a certain number of cows, to which the same number is added by the fosterer; the father appropriates a proportionate extent of country, without rent, for their pasturage. If every cow bring a calf, half belongs to the fosterer and half to the child; but, if there be only one calf between two cows, it is the child's; and, when the child returns to the parents, it is accompanied by all the cows given both by the father and by the fosterer, with half of the increase of the stock by propagation. These beasts are considered as a portion, and called *Macalive* cattle, of which the father has the produce, but is supposed not to have the full property, but to owe the same number to the child, as a portion to the daughter or a stock for the son.—*Johnson's Journey*, Works, vol. viii. 374.

times fomented as are hardly ever after thoroughly reconciled. The happy man who succeeds in his suit is ever after called the foster-father, and his children the foster-brothers and sisters, of the young laird. This, they reckon, not only endears them to their chief, and greatly strengthens their interest with him, but gives them a great deal of consideration among their fellow-vassals; and the foster-brother, having the same education as the young chief,* may, besides that, in time become his *hanchman*, or perhaps be promoted to that office under the old patriarch himself, if a vacancy should happen; or otherwise, by their interest, obtain orders and a

* The first specimen of manhood expected in a young chieftain was dexterity in hunting: the next was, to make an incursion, attended with extreme hazard, on some neighbour, with whom he was at open variance, and to carry off, by force of arms, whatever cattle he and his followers fell in with. In this manner conflicts and feuds were nourished, and kept constantly in existence, among our Scotish Highlanders; but these conflicts ceased almost entirely about the middle of the seventeenth century; and hereditary jurisdiction was abolished, in 1748, by an act of the British legislature, when Highland emancipation was in part accomplished. The solemnities at the inauguration of a chief are no more! The voice of the bard is silent in the hall! The deeds of other times are no longer recounted as incentives to emulate their forefathers! The system is altogether changed, and the manners of civilized Europe are rapidly prevailing in the remotest corners of the Highlands and Western Isles.—*Campbell's Journey*, vol. i. 185.

benefice. This officer is a sort of secretary, and is to be ready, upon all occasions, to venture his life in defence of his master; and at drinking-bouts he stands behind his seat, at his haunch (from whence his title is derived), and watches the conversation, to see if any one offend his patron.

An English officer, being in company with a certain chieftain and several other Highland gentlemen, near Killichumen, had an argument with the *great man;* and, both being well warmed with usky, at last the dispute grew very hot. A youth, who was *hanchman*, not understanding a word of English, imagined his chief was insulted, and thereupon drew his pistol from his side, and snapped it at the officer's head; but the pistol missed fire, otherwise it is more than probable he might have suffered death from the hand of that little vermin.* But it is very disagreeable to an Englishman, over a bottle with the Highlanders, to see every one of them have his *gilly*,—that is, his servant, standing behind him all the while, let what will be the subject of conversation.

When a chief goes a journey in the Hills, or

* This *duty* of a hanchman, at a drinking-bout, is altogether imaginary, and the youth here mentioned certainly went beyond his orders. The chief always took the liberty of judging for himself in such cases.

makes a formal visit to an equal, he is said to be attended by all, or most part of the officers following, viz.—

The Hanchman,	Before described.
Bard,	His poet.
Bladier,	His spokesman.
Gilli-more,	Carries his broad-sword.
Gilli-casflue,	Carries him, when on foot, over the fords.
Gilly-constraine,	Leads his horse in rough and dangerous ways.
Gilly-trushanarnish,	The baggage-man.
The Piper,	Who, being a gentleman, I should have named sooner.

And lastly,

The Piper's Gilly,	Who carries the bagpipe.

There are likewise some gentlemen near of kin who bear him company; and besides a number of the common sort, who have no particular employment, but follow him only to partake of the cheer.

I must own that all these attendants, and the profound respect they pay, must be flattering enough, though the equipage has none of the best appearance. But this *state* may appear to soothe the pride of the chief to a vast degree, if the declaration of one of them was sincere, who, at dinner, before a good deal of company, English as well as Scots, myself being one of the number, affirmed that if his estate was free

from incumbrances, and was none of his own, and he was then put to choose between that and the estate of the duke of Newcastle, supposing it to be thirty thousand pounds a-year (as somebody said it was), he would make choice of the former, with the *following* belonging to it before the other without it. Now his estate might be about five hundred pounds a-year. But this pride is pretty costly; for as his friend is to feed all these attendants, so it comes to his own turn to be at a like, or, perhaps, greater expence when the visit is repaid; for they are generally attended in proportion to the strength of the clan; and by this intercourse they very much hurt one another in their circumstances.

By what has been said, you may know, in part, how necessary the rent called *customs* is to the family of a Highland chief.

Here I must ask a space for those two sons of Apollo, the *bard* and the *piper*.

The *bard* is skilled in the genealogy of all the Highland families; sometimes preceptor to the young laird; celebrates, in Irish verse, the original* of the tribe, the famous warlike ac-

* Dr. Johnson observes:—"As there subsists no longer in the Islands much of that peculiar and discriminative form of life, of which the idea had delighted our imagination, we were willing to listen to such accounts of past times as would be given us; but

tions of the successive heads, and sings his own lyrics as an opiate to the chief when indisposed for sleep;—but poets are not equally esteemed and honoured in all countries. I happened to be a witness of the dishonour done to the muse at the house of one of the chiefs, where two of these bards were set at a good distance, at the lower end of a long table, with a parcel of Highlanders of no extraordinary appearance, over a cup of ale. Poor inspiration! They were not asked to drink a glass of wine at our table, though the whole company at it consisted only of the *great man*, one of his near relations, and myself.

After some little time, the chief ordered one of them to sing me a Highland song. The bard*

we soon found what memorials were to be expected from an illiterate people, whose whole time is a series of distress, where every morning is labouring with expedients for the evening; and where all mental pains or pleasure arose from the dread of winter, the expectation of spring, the caprices of their chiefs, and the motion of the neighbouring clans; where there was neither shame from ignorance, nor pride in knowledge; neither curiosity to inquire, nor vanity to communicate. The chiefs, indeed, were exempt from urgent penury and daily difficulties, and in their houses were preserved what accounts remained of past ages. But the chiefs were sometimes ignorant and careless, and sometimes kept busy by turbulence and contention, and one generation of ignorance effaces the whole series of unwritten history.—*Johnson's Journey*, Works, vol. viii. 344.

* That the bards could not read more than the rest of their

readily obeyed; and with a hoarse voice, and in a tune of few various notes, began, as I was told, one of his own lyrics; and when he had proceeded to the fourth or fifth stanza, I perceived, by the names of several persons, glens, and mountains, which I had known or heard of before, that it was an account of some clan battle. But, in his going on, the chief (who piques himself upon his school-learning), at some particular passage, bid him cease, and cried out to me—"There's nothing like that in Virgil or Homer!" I bowed, and told him I believed so. This, you may believe, was very edifying and delightful.

I have had occasion before to say something

countrymen, it is reasonable to suppose; because if they had read, they could probably have written; and how high their compositions may reasonably be rated, an inquirer may best judge by considering what stores of imagery, what principles of ratiocination, what comprehension of knowledge, and what delicacy of elocution, he has known any man attain who cannot read. The state of the bards was yet more hopeless. He that cannot read may now converse with those that can; but the bard was a barbarian among barbarians, who, knowing nothing himself, lived with others that knew no more.—*Johnson's Journey*, Works, vol. viii. 350.

This is the theory of a learned academic, writing about a thing entirely out of his way, and with which he had no means of becoming acquainted, because he neither had the language nor the confidence of the lower class of Highlanders; and, without these, their mental character can neither be known nor appreciated.

of the *piper*, but not as an officer of the household.

In a morning, while the chief is dressing, he walks backward and forward, close under the window, without doors, playing on his bagpipe,* with a most upright attitude and majestic stride.

It is a proverb in Scotland, viz. *The stately step of a piper.* When required, he plays at meals, and in an evening is to divert the guests with his music, when the chief has company with him: his attendance in a journey, or at a visit, I have mentioned before.

His *gilly* holds the pipe till he begins; and the

* The solace which the bagpipe can give, they have long enjoyed; but, among other changes which the last revolution introduced, the use of the bagpipe begins to be forgotten. Some of the chief families still entertain a piper, whose office was anciently hereditary. Macrimmon was piper to Macleod, and Rankin to Maclean of Col. The tunes of the bagpipe are traditional. There has been in Skye, beyond all time of memory, a college of pipers, under the direction of Macrimmon, which is not quite extinct. There was another in Mull, superintended by Rankin, which expired about sixteen years ago. To these colleges, while the pipe retained its honour, the students of music repaired for education. I have had my dinner exhilirated by the bagpipe at Armidale, at Dunvegan, and in Col.—*Johnson's Journey*, Works, vol. iii. 333.

Till within the memory of persons still living, the school for Highland poetry and music was Ireland, and thither professional men were sent to be accomplished in these arts. The *cruit*, *clarsach*, or harp, was the proper instrument of the Celts.—The bagpipe was introduced by the Goths, from Scandinavia.

moment he has done with the instrument, he disdainfully throws it down upon the ground, as being only the passive means of conveying his skill to the ear, and not a proper weight for him to carry or bear at other times. But, for a contrary reason, his gilly snatches it up—which is, that the pipe may not suffer indignity from its neglect.

The captain of one of the Highland companies entertained me some time ago at Stirling, with an account of a dispute that happened in his *corps* about precedency. This officer, among the rest, had received orders to add a drum to his bagpipe, as a more military instrument; for the pipe was to be retained, because the Highlandmen could hardly be brought to march without it. Now, the contest between the drummer and the piper arose about the post of honour, and at length the contention grew exceedingly hot, which the captain having notice of, he called them both before him, and, in the end, decided the matter in favour of the drum; whereupon the piper remonstrated very warmly. "Ads wuds, sir," says he "and shall a little rascal that beats upon a sheep-skin, tak the right haund of me, that am a musician?"

There are in the mountains both red-deer and roes, but neither of them in very great numbers, that ever I could find. The red-deer are large,

and keep their haunts in the highest mountains; but the roe is less than our fallow-deer, and partakes, in some measure, of the nature of the hare, having no fat about the flesh, and hiding in the clefts of rocks, and other hollows, from the sight of pursuers. These keep chiefly in the woods.

A pack of hounds, like that of Actæon, in the same metaphorical sense, would soon devour their master. But, supposing they could easily be maintained, they would be of no use, it being impossible for them to hunt over such rocks and rugged steep declivities; or if they could do this, their cry in those open hills would soon fright all the deer out of that part of the country. This was the effect of one single hound, whose voice I have often heard in the dead of the night (as I lay in bed) echoing among the mountains; he was kept by an English gentleman at one of the barracks, and it was loudly complained of by some of the lairds, as being prejudicial to their estates.

When a solemn hunting* is resolved on, for

* Mr. Pennant gives the following interesting account of a royal hunt, from William Barclay's *Contra Monarchomachos*.— "I once had a sight of a very extraordinary sort. In the year 1563, the earl of Athol, a prince of the blood royal, had with much trouble and vast expense a hunting-match, for the entertainment of our most illustrious and most gracious queen. Our

the entertainment of relations and friends, the haunt of the deer being known, a number of the vassals are summoned, who readily obey by inclination; and are, besides, obliged by the tenure of their lands, of which one article is, that they shall attend the *master* at his huntings. This, I think, was part of the ancient vassalage in England.

The chief convenes what numbers he thinks fit, according to the strength of his clan: perhaps three or four hundred. With these he surrounds the hill, and as they advance upwards, the deer flies at the sight of them, first of one

people call this a royal hunting. I was then a young man, and was present on that occasion: two thousand Highlanders (or wild Scotch as you call them here) were employed to drive to the hunting-ground all the deer from the woods and hills of Atholl, Badenoch, Marr, Murray, and the countries about. As these Highlanders use a light dress, and are very swift of foot, they went up and down so nimbly, that in less than two months time they brought together two thousand red-deer, besides roes and fallow-deer. The queen, the great men, and a number of others, were in a glen when all these deer were brought before them. Believe me, the whole body of them moved forward in something like battle order. This sight still strikes me, and ever will, for they had a leader whom they followed close wherever he moved. This leader was a very fine stag, with a very high head. The sight delighted the queen very much; but she soon had cause for fear; upon the earl's (who had been accustomed to such sights) addressing her thus: 'Do you observe that stag, who is foremost of the herd? There is danger from that stag; for if either fear or

side, then of another; and they still, as they mount, get into closer order, till, in the end, he is enclosed by them in a small circle, and there they hack him down with their broad-swords. And they generally do it so dexterously, as to preserve the hide entire.

If the chace be in a wood, which is mostly upon the declivity of a rocky hill, the tenants spread themselves as much as they can, in a rank extending upwards; and march, or rather crawl forward, with a hideous yell. Thus they drive every thing before them, while the laird and his

rage should force him from the ridge of that hill, let every one look to himself, for none of us will be out of the way of harm; for the rest will follow this one, and having thrown us under foot, they will open a passage to this hill behind us.' What happened a moment after confirmed this opinion: for the queen ordered one of the best dogs to be let loose on one of the deer: this the dog pursues, the leading stag was frighted, he flies by the same way he had come there, the rest rush after him, and break out where the thickest body of the Highlanders was. They had nothing for it but to throw themselves flat on the heath, and to allow the deer to pass over them. It was told the queen that several of the Highlanders had been wounded, and that two or three had been killed outright; and the whole body had got off, had not the Highlanders by their skill in hunting fallen upon a stratagem to cut off the rear from the main body. It was of those that had been separated that the queen's dogs and those of the nobility made slaughter. There were killed that day 360 deer, with 5 wolves, and some roes."—*Pennant's Scotland*, vol. iii. 64, 65.

friends are waiting at the farther end with their guns to shoot the deer. But it is difficult to force the roes out of their cover; insomuch that when they come into the open light, they sometimes turn back upon the huntsmen, and are taken alive.

What I have been saying on this head is only to give you some taste of the Highland hunting; for the hills, as they are various in their form, require different dispositions of the men that compose the pack. The first of the two paragraphs next above, relates only to such a hill as rises something in the figure of a cone; and the other, you see, is the side of a hill which is clothed with a wood; and this last is more particularly the shelter of the roe. A further detail I think would become tedious.

When the chief would have a deer only for his household, the game-keeper and one or two more are sent into the hills with guns, and oatmeal for their provision, where they often lie, night after night, to wait an opportunity of providing venison for the family. This has been done several times for me, but always without effect.

The foxes and wild cats (or cat-o'-mountain) are both very large in their kind, and always appear to have fed plentifully; they do the Highlanders much more hurt in their poultry,

&c. than they yield them profit by their furs; and the eagles do them more mischief than both the others together. It was one of their chief complaints, when they were disarmed, in the year 1725, that they were deprived of the means to destroy those noxious animals, and that a great increase of them must necessarily follow the want of their fire-arms.

Of the eatable part of the feathered kind peculiar to the mountains is, first, the *cobberkely*,* which is sometimes called a wild turkey, but not like it, otherwise than in size. This is very seldom to be met with, being an inhabitant of very high and unfrequented hills, and is

* The *capercaillie*, *capulcoillie*, *avercailye*, or *great cock of the wood*, became extinct in Great Britain about this time, or shortly after; but the inhabitants, for a time, believed them still to exist in unfrequented places which they had not explored. This valuable bird (the largest of the *grouse* kind, properly so called), it is hoped, will once more be introduced into the Highlands by some landproprietor, who has sufficient range of forest and copse-wood such as they delight in, and sufficient influence to protect the breed during the first ten years, which will be impossible without the love and esteem of his tenants. The *capercaillie* is not "an inhabitant of very high hills, but of any place where he finds proper food and shelter, being common in Russia, Poland, Livonia, Courland, Esthonia, &c. where there are no high hills."—Being a very lascivious bird, like the turkey, during the breeding season, he is so regardless of his own safety as to be an easy prey to the sportsman. They are becoming scarcer in the North than they once were, and no wonder; for we have eaten them there before they arrived at the size of a partridge.

therefore esteemed a great rarity for the table. Next is the *black cock*,* which resembles, in size and shape, a pheasant, but is black and shining, like a raven; but the hen is not, in shape or colour, much unlike to a hen-pheasant: and, lastly, the *tormican*, near about the size of the moor-fowl (or grouse), but of a lighter colour, which turns almost white in winter. These, I am told, feed chiefly upon the tender tops of the fir-branches, which I am apt to believe, because the taste of them has something tending to turpentine, though not disagreeable. It is said, if you throw a stone so as to fall beyond it, the bird is thereby so much amused or daunted, that it will not rise till you are very near; but I have suspected this to be a sort of conundrum, signifying they are too shy to suffer an approach near enough for that purpose, like what they tell the children about the salt and the bird.

The tribes will not suffer strangers to settle within their precinct,† or even those of another clan to enjoy any possession among them; but will soon constrain them to quit their pretensions, by cruelty to their persons, or mischief

* The *black cock* is still found in parts of Derbyshire, Cheshire, Lancashire, and other parts of England. Our author has forgot the *common grouse*.

† Their precinct was always too narrow for themselves, and strangers have uniformly brought them ultimate evil.

to their cattle or other property. Of this there happened two flagrant instances, within a few years past.

The first was as follows:—Gordon laird of Glenbucket, had been invested by the D. of G. in some lands in Badenoch, by virtue, I think, of a *wadset*, or mortgage. These lands lay among the Macphersons; but the tenants of that name refused to pay the rent to the new landlord, or to acknowledge him as such.

This refusal put him upon the means to eject them by law; whereupon the tenants came to a resolution to put an end to his suit and new settlement in the manner following:—Five or six of them, young fellows, the sons of gentlemen, entered the door of his hut, and, in fawning words, told him they were sorry any dispute had happened; that they were then resolved to acknowledge him as their immediate landlord, and would regularly pay him their rent; at the same time they begged he would withdraw his process, and they hoped they should be agreeable to him for the future. All this while they were almost imperceptibly drawing nearer and nearer to his bed-side, on which he was sitting, in order to prevent his defending himself (as they knew him to be a man of distinguished courage), and then fell suddenly on him, some cutting him with their dirks, and

others plunging them into his body. This was perpetrated within sight of the banack of Ruthven.

I cannot forbear to tell you how this butchery ended, with respect both to him and those treacherous villains. He, with a multitude of wounds upon him, made a shift, in the bustle, to reach down his broad-sword from the tester of his bed, which was very low, and with it he drove all the assassins before him; and afterwards, from the duke's abhorrence of so vile a fact, and with the assistance of the troops, they were driven out of the country, and forced to fly to foreign parts.*

By the way, the duke claims the right of chief to the Macphersons, as he is, in fact, of the Gordons.

* Till the Highlanders lost their ferocity with their arms, they suffered from each other all that malignity could dictate or precipitance could act; every provocation was revenged with blood, and no man, that ventured into a numerous company, by whatever occasion brought together, was sure of returning without a wound. If they are now exposed to foreign hostilities, they may talk of the danger, but can seldom feel it; if they are no longer martial, they are no longer quarrelsome. Misery is caused, for the most part, not by a heavy crush of disaster, but by the corrosion of less visible evils, which canker enjoyment and undermine security. The visit of an invader is necessarily rare, but domestic animosities allow no cessation.—*Johnson's Journey*, Works, vol. viii. 319.

The other example is of a minister, who had a small farm assigned him; and, upon his entrance to it, some of the clan, in the dead of the night, fired five balls through his hut, which all lodged in his bed; but he, happening to be absent that night, escaped their barbarity, but was forced to quit the country. Of this he made to me an affecting complaint.

This kind of cruelty, I think, arises from their dread of innovations, and the notion they entertain, that they have a kind of hereditary right to their farms; and that none of them are to be dispossessed, unless for some great transgression against their chief, in which case every individual would consent to their expulsion.*

* The history of trials for *houghing of cattle* and *wilful fire-raising*, in England, will show that the Highlands is not the only country where ejected or discontented tenants know how to revenge themselves on those against whom they have conceived a grudge. In the records of their criminal courts, there will not be found one such instance for a hundred that have occurred among their neighbours. In the Highlands, the tenants do not burn the houses of their landlords and tacksmen, although many shocking instances have occurred, within these few years, of the *landlords setting fire to the cottages of their tenants, in order to drive them out, when they had nowhere else to go for shelter.* This is a species of *arson* against which our legislature has provided no remedy; but the crime will soon bring its own punishmennt, for—

——— a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
When once destroy'd, can never be supplied.—*Goldsmith.*

Having lately mentioned the dirk,* I think it may not be unseasonable here to give you a short description of that dangerous weapon; and the rather, as I may have occasion to speak of it hereafter. The blade is straight, and generally above a foot long; the back near [one-eighth of] an inch thick; the point goes off like a tuck, and the handle is something like that of a sickle. They pretend they cannot do well without it, as being useful to them in cutting wood, and upon many other occasions; but it is a concealed mischief, hid under the plaid, ready for secret stabbing; and, in a close encounter, there is no defence against it.

I am far from thinking there is anything in the nature of a Highlander, as such, that should make him cruel and remorseless; on the contrary, I cannot but be of opinion that nature in general is originally the same in all mankind, and that the difference between country and

* The dirk was a sort of dagger, stuck in the belt. I frequently saw this weapon, in the shambles of Inverness, converted into a butcher's knife, being, like Hudibras's dagger,

——— a serviceable dudgeon,
Either for fighting or for drudging.

The dirk was a weapon used by the ancient Caledonians: for Dio Cassius, in his account of the expedition of Severus, mentions it under the name of Ενχειριδιον, *pugio*, or *little dagger*.—*Pennant's Scotland*, vol. i. 212.

country arises from education and example. And from this principle I conclude, that even a Hottentot child, being brought into England before he had any knowledge, might, by a virtuous education and generous example, become as much an Englishman in his heart as any native whatever. But that the Highlanders, for the most part, are cruel, is beyond dispute, though all clans are not alike merciless. In general they have not generosity enough to give quarter to an enemy that falls in their power; nor do they seem to have any remorse at shedding blood without necessity.

This appeared a few years ago, with respect to a party of soldiers, consisting of a serjeant and twelve men, who were sent into Lochaber after some cows that were said to be stolen. The soldiers, with their arms slung, were carelessly marching along by the side of a lake, where only one man could pass in front; and, in this circumstance, fell into an ambuscade of a great number of Highlandmen, vassals of an attainted chief, who was in exile when his clan was accused of the theft.

These were lodged in a hollow on the side of a rocky hill; and though they were themselves out of all danger, or might have descended and disarmed so small a party, yet they chose rather, with their fire-arms, as it were wantonly

to pick them off, almost one by one, till they had destroyed them all, except two, who took to their heels, and waded a small river into the territory of another chief, where they were safe from further pursuit; for the chiefs, like princes upon the continent whose dominions lie contiguous, do not invade each other's boundaries while they are in peace and friendship with one another, but demand redress of wrongs; and whosoever should do otherwise, would commit an offence in which every tribe is interested, besides the lasting feud it might create between the two neighbouring clans.

P. S. One of these soldiers, who, in his flight, had fixed his bayonet, turned about at the edge of the water upon a Highlandman, who, for greater speed, had no other arms than his broad-sword, and, at the same time, it is said, the soldier at once sent his bayonet and a ball through his body.*

* The general and heavy accusations, with which this story is prefaced, are utterly unwarranted, even by the partial instance here given. These very Highlanders had been pursued by the soldiers with fire and sword—plundered and ruined—and their chief was then stripped of everything and banished, a martyr to political opinion, and what he conceived to be patriotism and loyalty. Stealing or starving was their only alternative. Under such circumstances, we cannot see the *cowardice* of firing upon *regular soldiers*, their enemies, who were armed with loaded muskets and bayonets for their destruction. The two soldiers, who *ran away*,

naturally accused them of *cowardice;* and he who sent a ball through a Highlander, *who had no fire-arms*, was accounted a gallant fellow—as all his companions would have been, had they acted as the Highlanders did. To have *disarmed* them would have been *cruelty* to themselves, as they had learned, from harsh experience, as their persons must have been recognized, and every man of them, upon the evidence of those very soldiers, hunted out, and hanged for felony and rebellion, in resisting the king's troops.

Perhaps it was well for the soldier who shot the Highlander that his musket was loaded, otherwise he might have come off no better than the Frenchman did at Quebec:—A Highlander, whose regiment, having been surrounded, had cut their way out with the broad-sword, with the loss of half their number, being the last in retreating, and highly chafed, was stopped by a forward Frenchman returning from the pursuit, who charged him with his bayonet, but soon finding the disadvantage of his weapon, cried out "*quarter!*"—"*Quarter ye*," said Donald, "te muckle teefil may *quarter* ye for me! Py my soul, I'fe nae time to *quarter* ye; ye maun e'en pe contentit te pe cuttit in—*two!*" making his head fly from his shoulders.

LETTER XXII.

But the rancour of some of those people, in another case, was yet more extraordinary than the instance in my last letter, as the objects of their malice could not seem, even to the utmost cowardice, to be in any manner of condition to annoy them. This was after the battle of Glenshiels, in the rebellion of 1719, before-mentioned. As the troops were marching from the field of action to a place of encampment, some of the men who were dangerously wounded, after their being carried some little way on horseback, complained they could no longer bear that uneasy carriage, and begged they might be left behind till some more gentle conveyance could be provided.

In about three or four hours (the little army being encamped) parties were sent to them with hurdles, that had been made to serve as a kind of litters; but, when they arrived, they found to their astonishment that those poor, miserable creatures had been stabbed with dirks in twenty places of their legs and arms, as well as their

bodies, and even those that were dead had been used in the same savage manner. This I have been assured of by several officers who were in the battle, Scots as well as English.

I make no manner of doubt you will take what is to follow to be an odd transition, *i. e.* from the cruelty of the ordinary Highlanders, to dialect and orthography,—although you have met with some others not more consistent; but then you will recollect what I said in my first epistle, that I should not confine myself to method, but give you my account just as the several parts of the subject should occur from my memorandums and memory.

Strange encomiums I have heard from the natives upon the language of their country, although it be but a corruption of the Irish tongue;* and, if you could believe some of them, it is so expressive, that it wants only to be better known to become universal. But as for myself, who can only judge of it by the ear, it seems to me to be very harsh in sound, like the Welsh, and altogether as gutteral, which last, you know, is a quality long since banished all the polite languages in Europe.

It likewise seems to me, as if the natives

* The Irish is as corrupted as the Gaëlic, but neither of them has corrupted the other, as both have been equally affected by the settlement of Nor-men and Saxons among them.

affected to call it Erst,* as though it were a language peculiar to their country; but an Irish gentleman who never before was in Scotland, and made with me a Highland tour, was perfectly understood even by the common people; and several of the lairds took me aside to ask me who he was, for that they never heard their language spoken in such purity before. This gentleman told me that he found the dialect to vary as much in different parts of the country as in any two counties of England. There are very few who can write the character, of which the alphabet is as follows:—

* The *natives* call it *Gaëlic* (the language of the white men), and the *Lowlanders* call it *Erse*, which is only their manner of pronouncing *Irish*.

			Pronounced
a	𝔞	𝔞	Ailim.
b	𝔟	𝔟	Beith.
c	𝔠	𝔠	Coll.
d	𝔡	𝔡	Duir.
e	𝔢	𝔢	Eadha.
f	𝔣	𝔣	Fearn.
g	𝔤	𝔤	Gort.
h	𝔥	𝔥	Uath.
j i	𝔧 ſ	𝔧 ı	Jogha.
l	𝔩	𝔩	Luis.
m	𝔪	𝔪	Muin.
n	𝔫	𝔫	Nuin.
o	𝔬	𝔬	Oun.
p	𝔭	𝔭	Peithboc.
r	𝔯	𝔯	Ruïs.
s	𝔰	𝔰	Suil.
t	𝔱	𝔱	Tinne.
u	𝔲	𝔲	Uir.*

* There is no *Irish character*; but the Irish and Highlanders retained the bastard *Roman* character (which was in use all over the west of Europe six or seven centuries ago) longer than any of the other nations, except the Icelanders.

In writing English, they seem to have no rule of orthography, and they profess they think good spelling of no great use; but if they read English authors, I wonder their memory does not retain the figures, or forms of common words, especially monosyllables; but it may, for aught I know, be affectation.

I have frequently received letters from ministers and lay gentlemen, both esteemed for their learning in dead languages, that have been so ill spelt, I thought I might have expected better from an ordinary woman in England. As for one single example,—for *heirs* (of Latin derivation), *airs* repeated several times in the same letter; and, further, one word was often variously spelt in the same page.*

The Highland dress consists of a bonnet made of thrum without a brim, a short coat, a waistcoat, longer by five or six inches, short stockings, and brogues, or pumps without heels. By the way, they cut holes in their brogues, though new made, to let out the water, when they have far to go and rivers to pass: this they do to preserve their feet from galling.

Few besides gentlemen wear the *trowze*,—that is, the breeches and stockings all of one piece, and drawn on together; over this habit they

* Shakespeare spelt his own name three different ways in his last will.

wear a plaid, which is usually three yards long and two breadths wide, and the whole garb is made of chequered tartan, or plaiding: this, with the sword and pistol, is called a *full dress*, and, to a well-proportioned man, with any tolerable air, it makes an agreeable figure; but this you have seen in London, and it is chiefly their mode of dressing when they are in the Lowlands, or when they make a neighbouring visit, or go anywhere on horseback; but when those among them who travel on foot, and have not attendants to carry them over the waters, they vary it into the *quelt*, which is a manner I am about to describe.

The common habit of the ordinary Highlanders is far from being acceptable to the eye: with them a small part of the plaid, which is not so large as the former, is set in folds and girt round the waist, to make of it a short petticoat that reaches half way down the thigh, and the rest is brought over the shoulders, and then fastened before, below the neck, often with a fork, and sometimes with a bodkin or sharpened piece of stick, so that they make pretty nearly the appearance of the poor women in London when they bring their gowns over their heads to shelter them from the rain. In this way of wearing the plaid, they have sometimes nothing else to cover them, and are often

barefoot; but some I have seen shod with a kind of pumps, made out of a raw cow-hide, with the hair turned outward, which being ill made, the wearer's foot looked something like those of a rough-footed hen or pigeon: these are called *quarrants*, and are not only offensive to the sight, but intolerable to the smell of those who are near them. The stocking rises no higher than the thick of the calf, and from the middle of the thigh to the middle of the leg is a naked space, which, being exposed to all weathers, becomes tanned and freckled, and the joint being mostly infected with the country distemper, the whole is very disagreeable to the eye. This dress is called the *quelt;* and, for the most part, they wear the petticoat so very short, that in a windy day, going up a hill, or stooping, the indecency of it is plainly discovered.

A Highland gentleman told me one day merrily, as we were speaking of a dangerous precipice we had passed over together, that a lady of a noble family had complained to him very seriously, that as she was going over the same place with a *gilly*, who was upon an upper path, leading her horse with a long string, she was so terrified with the sight of the abyss, that, to avoid it, she was forced to look up towards the bare Highlander all the way long.

I have observed before, that the plaid serves the ordinary people for a cloak by day and and bedding at night: by the latter it imbibes so much perspiration, that no one day can free it from the filthy smell; and even some of better than ordinary appearance, when the plaid falls from the shoulder, or otherwise requires to be re-adjusted, while you are talking with them, toss it over again, as some people do the knots of their wigs, which conveys the offence in whiffs that are intolerable;—of this they seem not to be sensible, for it is often done only to give themselves airs.

Various reasons are given both for and against the Highland dress.* It is urged against it, that it distinguishes the natives as a body of people distinct and separate from the rest of the subjects of Great Britain, and thereby is

* Dr. Johnson remarks—"There was, perhaps, never any change of national manners so quick, so great, and so general, as that which has operated in the Highlands, by the last conquest and the subsequent laws. We came hither too late to see what we expected—a people of peculiar appearance, and a system of antiquated life. The clans retain little now of their original character; their ferocity of temper is softened, their military ardour is extinguished [?], their dignity of independence is depressed, their contempt of government subdued, and their reverence for their chiefs abated. Of what they had before the late conquest of their country, there remain only their language and their poverty.—*Johnson's Journey*, Works, vol. viii. 334.

one cause of their narrow adherence among themselves, to the exclusion of all the rest of the kingdom; but the part of the habit chiefly objected to is the plaid* (or mantle), which, they say, is calculated for the encouragement of an idle life, in lying about upon the heath, in the day-time, instead of following some lawful employment; that it serves to cover them in the night when they lie in wait among the mountains, to commit their robberies and depredations; and is composed of such colours as altogether, in the mass, so nearly resemble the heath on which they lie, that it is hardly to be distinguished from it until one is so near them as to be within their power, if they have any evil intention; that it renders them ready, at a moment's warning, to join in any rebellion, as they carry continually their tents about them: and, lastly, it was thought necessary, in Ireland, to suppress that habit by act of parliament, for the above reasons, and no complaint for the

* Their predecessors used short mantles, or playds, of divers colours, sundry ways divided; and, amongst some, the same custome is observed to this day; but, for the most part, they are browne now, most near to the colour of the hadder, to the effect when they lie amongst the hadder, the bright colour of their playds shall not bewray them, with the which, rather coloured than clad, they suffer the most cruell tempests that blowe in the open field, in such sort that under a wrythe of snow they sleepe sound.—*Lord Somers's Tracts*, vol. iii. 388.

want of it now remains among the mountaineers of that country.

On the other hand, it is alleged, the dress is most convenient to those who, with no ill design, are obliged to travel from one part to another upon their lawful occasions, viz.—That they would not be so free to skip over the rocks and bogs with breeches as they are in the short petticoat; that it would be greatly incommodious to those who are frequently to wade through waters, to wear breeches, which must be taken off upon every such occurrence, or would not only gall the wearer, but render it very unhealthful and dangerous to their limbs, to be constantly wet in that part of the body, especially in winter-time, when they might be frozen: and with respect to the plaid in particular, the distance between one place of shelter and another, is often too great to be reached before night comes on; and, being intercepted by sudden floods, or hindered by other impediments, they are frequently obliged to lie all night in the hills, in which case they must perish, were it not for the covering they carry with them. That even if they should be so fortunate as to reach some hospitable hut, they must lie upon the ground * uncovered, there being

* When they were obliged to lie abroad in the hills, in their hunting-parties, or tending their cattle, or in war, the plaid served

nothing to be spared from the family for that purpose.

And to conclude, a few shillings will buy this dress for an ordinary Highlander, who, very probably, might hardly ever be in condition to purchase a Lowland suit, though of the coarsest cloth or stuff, fit to keep him warm in that cold climate.

I shall determine nothing in this dispute, but leave you to judge which of these two reasonings is the most cogent.

The whole people* are fond and tenacious of

them both for bed and for covering: for when three men slept together, they could spread three folds of cloth below and six above them. The garters of their stockings were tied under their knees, with a view to give more freedom to the limb, and climb the mountains with greater ease. The lightness and looseness of their dress; the custom they had of going always on foot, never on horseback; their love of long journeys; but, above all, that patience of hunger and every kind of hardship, which carried their bodies forward, even after their spirits were exhausted,—made them exceed all other European nations in speed and perseverance of march. Montrose's marches were sometimes sixty miles in a day.—*Dalrymple's Memoirs of Great Britain.*

* In contrasting the former customs, occupations, and manners of the Highlanders, we are struck with a wide difference in most respects. We no longer behold them that high independent race of people which they were even a century ago. Much more, then, must the inhabitants of these mountains, two or more centuries since, have differed from the present race, their descendants.—*Campbell's Journey.*

the Highland clothing, as you may believe by what is here to follow.

Being, in a wet season, upon one of my peregrinations, accompanied by a Highland gentleman, who was one of the clan through which I was passing, I observed the women to be in great anger with him about something that I did not understand: at length, I asked him wherein he had offended them? Upon this question he laughed, and told me his great-coat was the cause of their wrath; and that their reproach was, that he could not be contented with the garb of his ancestors, but was degenerated into a Lowlander, and condescended to follow their unmanly fashions.*

The wretched appearance of the poor Highland women that come to this town, has been mentioned; and here I shall step out of the way to give you a notable instance of frugality in one of a higher rank.

There is a laird's lady, about a mile from one of the Highland garrisons, who is often seen from the ramparts, on Sunday mornings, coming barefoot to the kirk, with her maid carrying the stockings and shoes after her. She stops at the foot of a certain rock, that serves her for a seat, not far from the hovel they call a church, and there she puts them on; and, in her return to

* See at the end of this letter.

the same place, she prepares to go home barefoot as she came; thus, reversing the old Mosaic precept. What English squire was ever blessed with such a housewife!

But this instance, though true to my knowledge, I have thought something extraordinary, because the Highlanders are shy of exposing their condition to strangers, especially the English, and more particularly to a number of officers, to whom they are generally desirous to make their best appearance. But, in my journeys, when they did not expect to be observed by any but their own country people, I have twice surprised the laird and his lady without shoes or stockings, a good way from home, in cold weather. The kirk above-mentioned brings to my memory a curiosity of the same kind.

At a place in Badenoch, called Ilan Dou, as I passed by a hut of turf something larger than ordinary, but taking little notice of it, I was called upon by one of the company to stop and observe its figure, which proved to be the form of a cross: this occasioned several jokes from a libertine and a presbyterian upon the Highland cathedral and the non-jurors, in all which they perfectly agreed.

The ordinary girls wear nothing upon their heads until they are married or have a child, except sometimes a fillet of red or blue coarse

cloth, of which they are very proud; but often their hair hangs down overthe forehead like that of a wild colt.

If they wear stockings, which is very rare, they lay them in plaits one above another, from the ancle up to the calf, to make their legs appear as near as they can in the form of a cylinder;* but I think I have seen something like this among the poor German refugee women and the Moorish men in London. By the way, these girls, if they have no pretensions to family (as many of them have, though in rags), they are vain of being with child by a gentleman; and when he makes love to one of them, she will plead her excuse, in saying he undervalues himself, and that she is a poor girl not worth his trouble, or something to that purpose.

This easy compliance proceeds chiefly from a kind of ambition established by opinion and custom; for as gentility is of all things esteemed the most valuable in the notion of those people, so this kind of commerce renders the poor plebeian girl, in some measure, superior to her former equals.

From thenceforward she becomes proud, and they grow envious of her being singled out from among them, to receive the honour of a gentle-

* They wore *wrappers* (as is still the case in many parts of the continent), before *knit stockings* were in general use.

man's particular notice:* but otherwise they are generally far from being immodest; and as modesty is the capital feminine virtue, in that they may be a reproach to some in higher circumstances, who have lost that decent and endearing quality.

You know I should not venture to talk in this manner at ——, where modesty would be decried as impolite and troublesome, and I and my slender party ridiculed and borne down by a vast majority. I shall here give you a sample of the wretchedness of some of them.

In one of my northern journeys, where I travelled in a good deal of company, there was, among the rest, a Scots baronet, who is a captain in the army, and does not seem (at least to me) to affect concealment of his country's disadvantage. This gentleman, at our inn, when none but he and I were together, examined the maid-servant about her way of living; and she told him (as he interpreted it to me) that she never was in a bed in her life, or ever took off her clothes while they would hang together: but in this last, I think, she was too general; for I am pretty sure she was forced to pull them off now and then for her own quiet. But I must go a little further.

* This applies to all the countries of which we have any knowledge.

One half of the hut, by partition, was taken up with the field-bed of the principal person among us, and therefore the man and his wife very courteously offered to sit up and leave their bed to the baronet and me (for the rest of the company were dispersed about in barns); but we could not resolve to accept the favour, for certain reasons, but chose rather to lie upon the benches with our saddles for pillows.

Being in a high part of the country, the night was excessive cold, with some snow upon the mountains, though in August, and the next day was the hottest that I think I ever felt in my life.

The violent heat of the sun among the rocks, made my new companions (natives of the hovel) such voracious cannibals that I was obliged to lag behind, and set my servant to take vengeance on them for the plentiful repast they were making at my expence, and without my consent, and by which I was told they were become as red as blood. But I should have let you know, that when the table over-night was spread with such provisions as were carried with us, our chief man would needs have the lady of the house to grace the board; and it fell to my lot to sit next to her till I had loaded her plate, and bid her go and sup with her husband, for I foresaw the consequence of our conjunction.

The young children of the ordinary Highlanders are miserable objects indeed, and are mostly over-run with that distemper which some of the old men are hardly ever freed of from their infancy. I have often seen them come out from the huts early in a cold morning stark naked, and squat themselves down (if I might decently use the comparison) like dogs on a dunghill, upon a certain occasion after confinement. And at other times they have but little to defend them from the inclemencies of the weather in so cold a climate: nor are the children of some gentlemen in much better condition, being strangely neglected till they are six or seven years old: this one might know by a saying I have often heard, viz.—"That a gentleman's bearns, are to be distinguished by their speaking English."

I was invited one day to dine with a laird, not very far within the hills; and, observing about the house, an English soldier, whom I had often seen before in this town, I took an opportunity to ask him several questions. This man was a bird-catcher, and employed by the laird to provide him with small birds, for the exercise of his hawks. Among other things, he told me that for three or four days after his first coming, he had observed in the kitchen (an out-house hovel) a parcel of dirty children half naked, whom he

took to belong to some poor tenant, till at last he found they were a part of the family; but, although these were so little regarded, the young laird, about the age of fourteen, was going to the university; and the eldest daughter, about sixteen, sat with us at table, clean and genteely dressed.

But, perhaps, it may seem, that in this and other observations of the like kind, whenever I have met with one particular fact, I would make it thought to be general. I do assure you it is not so: but when I have known any thing to be common, I have endeavoured to illustrate it by some particular example. Indeed, there is hardly any thing of this sort that I have mentioned, can be so general as to be free from all exception; it is justification enough to me if the matter be generally known to answer my description, or what I have related of it. But I think an apology of this nature to you is needless. It is impossible for me, from my own knowledge, to give you an account of the ordinary way of living of those gentlemen; because, when any of us (the English) are invited to their houses, there is always an appearance of plenty to excess; and it has been often said they will ransack all their tenants rather than we should think meanly of their housekeeping: but I have heard it from many whom they have employed,

and perhaps had little regard to their observations as inferior people, that, although they have been attended at dinner by five or six servants, yet, with all that state, they have often dined upon oatmeal varied several ways, pickled herrings, or other such cheap and indifferent diet: but though I could not personally know their ordinary bill of fare, yet I have had occasion to observe they do not live in the cleanest manner, though some of them, when in England, affect the utmost nicety in that particular.

A friend of mine told me, some time ago, that, in his journey hither, he stopped to bait at the Bull inn, at Stamford, which, I think, is one among the best in England. He soon received a message by the landlord, from two gentlemen in the next room, who were going from these parts to London, proposing they might all dine together: this he readily consented to, as being more agreeable to him than dining alone.

As they sat at table, waiting for dinner, one of them found fault with the table-cloth, and said it was not clean; there was, it seems, a spot or two upon it, which he told them was only the stain of claret, that could not at once be perfectly washed out; then they wiped their knives, forks, and plates with the napkins; and, in short, nothing was clean enough for them;

—and this to a gentleman who is himself extremely nice in every thing of that nature. At last, says my friend, vexed at the impertinent farce, as he called it, "Gentlemen, I am vastly pleased at your dislikes, as I am now upon my journey to Scotland (where I have never yet been), because I must infer I shall there find these things in better condition." "Troth," says one of them, "ye canno want it."*

I am sorry for such instances, whereby a fop, conscious of the fallacy, exposes his country, and brings a ridicule upon other gentlemen of modesty and good sense, to serve a momentary vanity, if not to give affronts by such gross impositions.

I know very well what my friend thinks of them now, and, perhaps, by their means, of many others who do not deserve it.

There is one gasconade of the people hereabouts, which is extraordinary: they are often boasting of the great hospitality of the Highlanders to strangers; for my own part, I do not remember to have received one invitation from them, but when it was with an apparent view to their own interest: on the contrary, I have several times been unasked to eat, though there

* He must have said, "You canno *miss* it."

was nothing to be purchased within many miles of the place.* But one particular instance was most inhospitable. Being benighted, soon after it was dark, I made up to the house of one to whom I was well known; and, though I had five or six miles to travel over a dangerous rugged way, wherein there was no other shelter to be expected; yet, upon the trampling of my horses before the house, the lights went out in the twinkling of an eye, and deafness at once seized the whole family.

The latter part of what I have written of this letter relates chiefly to gentlemen who inhabit the Hills not far from the borders of the Lowlands, or not very far from the sea, or communication with it by lakes; as, indeed, most part of the houses of the chiefs of clans are in one or other of these situations. These are sometimes built with stone and lime, and though not large, except some few, are pretty commodious, at least with comparison to these

* The hospitality of the Highlanders is too well known to require any encomium here; and those who read M. Wade's Report, in the Appendix, will be satisfied, that the relative situations of English military men, and commissioners of all sorts, and the gentry of the greater part of Inverness-shire, were then such, that particular instances of cold distrust, and even rudeness, are not much to be wondered at.

that are built in the manner of the huts, of which, if any one has a room above, it is, by way of eminence, called a *lofted* house;* but in the inner part of the mountains there are no stone buildings that I know of, except the barracks; and one may go a hundred miles anend without seeing any other dwellings than the common huts of turf.

I have, indeed, heard of one that was intended to be built with stone in a remote part of the Highlands, from whence the laird sent a number of Highlanders, with horses, to fetch a quantity of lime from the borders; but, in their way home, there happened to fall a good deal of rain, and the lime began to crackle and smoke. The Highlanders not thinking, of all things, water would occasion fire, threw it all into a shallow rivulet, in order to quench it, before they proceeded further homeward; and this, they say, put an end to the project. But I take this to be a Lowland sneer upon the Highlanders, though not improbable.

I have mentioned above, among other situations of stone-built houses, some that are near to lakes which have a communication with the sea.

There are, in several parts of the Highlands,

* The term *loft* is of general application in Scotland; in England it is confined to a *hay-loft*, *organ-loft*, &c.

winding hollows between the feet of the mountains whereinto the sea flows, of which hollows some are navigable for ships of burden, for ten or twenty miles together inland: those the natives call *lochs*, or lakes, although they are salt, and have a flux and reflux, and therefore, more properly, should be called arms of the sea. I could not but think this explanation necessary, to distinguish those waters from the standing fresh-water lakes, which I have endeavoured to describe in a former letter.

HIGHLAND DRESS.

On this subject we shall neither tire the reader with our own learning, nor put that which others have wasted upon it in requisition. The chequered stuff, commonly worn by the Highlanders, by them called *breacan (particoloured)*, and by the Lowlanders *tartan* (Fr. *tiretaine)*, is neither peculiar to Celts nor Goths, and is to be found, at this day, although not in such general use, among many of the Sclavonic tribes, who have no connection with either. The wife of every Russian boor, in the north-western provinces at least, who can make her such a present at her marriage (and it is often a *sine quâ non*), has a *tartan plaid*, which she wears just as the Scotish women, in our author's time, did theirs: it is of massy silk, richly varied, with broad cross-bars of gold and silver tissue, and makes a very splendid appearance.

That the Lowlanders had their *tartan* from the *French*, at a time when it was fashionable in other countries, may be pre-

named from the *name;* and to imagine that the manufacture began among the Highlanders would be ridiculous.

The Highland *field-dress* of the men was of a coarser texture, and thickened by fulling; it was called *cadda (cath da'*, the war colour), and was a *tartan* of such colours as were least likely to betray the wearer, among the woods and heaths, either to the game he was in quest of, or to his enemies. The dyes were mostly extracted from woad, when it could be got, and from heath-tops, the bark and tender twigs of the alder, and other vegetable substances. As to the ancient *form* of the dress, nothing could be more simple: the *gentlemen*, having less frequent occasion to use their *full suit* as a *blanket*, wore a yellow shirt, a vest, trowsers, and mantle, of the same fashion as their neighbours. In Ireland, a few centuries ago, the *lower class* seldom encumbered themselves with dress of any kind within doors; and there is every reason to suppose that this was also the case among their brethren in Scotland. When they went out, they threw a light blanket round their shoulders, the upper part made tight with skewers, and the lower gathered up into folds, which they secured under the girdle, from which the sword, dagger, purse, &c. were suspended; this they called *feile*, a word of the same origin with the Scotish *fell;* English, *peel;* Old English, *pilche;* German and northern, *peltz*, *pels*, &c.; and the Latin, *pellis;* all which signified an *external surface*, *skin*, or *covering* of any kind. *Skins*, in the modern acceptation of the term, were, no doubt, the first *covering;* and the name was afterwards properly enough applied to a covering of cloth. At night they took out the skewers, unbuckled the girdle, and reduced the *feile* to its primary form of a blanket, to sleep in. The women wore a petticoat, or trowsers, of skin, cloth, or what they could get, and a cloth thrown round their bodies when they went out. As civilization advanced, a shirt, with a tunic, or short jacket, was introduced; the plaits of the *feile* were rendered permanent by sewing, and the *plaid*, to be used either as a mantle or blanket,

was added. The *kilt, feile-beg (little feile)*, or petticoat, now worn, has succeeded to the folded-up ends of the original blanket; *it is all that remains of the ancient costume*, and was reduced to its present form some time in the beginning of the last century. The *bonnet*, or flat, blue thrum cap, is of a very modern date, and was introduced from the Lowlands. The gentlemen of the Highlands wore such hats and caps as were worn by gentlemen of their times in neighbouring countries; and, in the days of our grandfathers, the lower class of Highlanders were, by their Lowland neighbours (in the north-east Lowlands, at least), denominated *humblies*, from their wearing no covering on their head but their hair, which, at a more early period, they probably matted and felted, for horror and defence, as the Irish did in Queen Elizabeth's time. The helmet-looking bonnet, now worn, was introduced within the memory of persons still living.

From this simple account of the Highland dress, it will be seen that it has in itself nothing peculiar to one country more than another; as the different improvements upon the manner of girding the loins, and trussing up a blanket, can hardly be called a *national costume*. The dress of the Romans began in the same manner, and went through nearly the same varieties of form; but, for a long time after the Romans left Britain, it can hardly be imagined, that the inhabitants of the more remote Highlands had either wool or cloth of their own produce. Scattered as their sheep, if they had any, must have been upon the mountains, they had no means of protecting them from the wolves; and they had not then patient industry enough to look after tame animals that could not take care of themselves.

The names of the different parts of this dress are all conformable to what has been said above. The *feile-beg* is, by the Lowlanders, called a *kilt*, from its having been *kilted, quilted*, or *trussed up* under the girdle. The meaning of the Latin *toga* is found in the Gaëlic *toga'*; in English, to *tuck up*, from the same circumstance; and a square *body-cloth*, still worn round the

shoulders by the Highland women, is called a *tunic*, or *tonnac*. *Plaid* (which is always misapplied in England), in its primary sense, means simply any thing *broad and flat*, and thence, a *broad, unformed piece of cloth*; and, in its its secondary and modern acceptation, a *blanket*; in which last import alone it is now used by the Highlanders. The *trews*, or trowsers, formerly worn only by the gentry, and by the lower classes, after the *philibeg* was proscribed by act of parliament, are so denominated, from the Gaëlic *trusa'*, to *truss up*, as they supplied the place of the end of the *feile* which was *trussed* under the girdle.

LETTER XXIII.

When a young couple are married, for the first night the company keep possession of the dwelling-house or hut, and send the bridegroom and bride to a barn or out-house, giving them straw, heath, or fern, for a bed, with blankets for their covering; and then they make merry, and dance to the piper all the night long.

Soon after the wedding-day, the new-married woman sets herself about spinning her winding-sheet, and a husband that should sell or pawn it, is esteemed, among all men, one of the most profligate.*

At a young Highlander's first setting up for himself, if he be of any consideration, he goes about among his near relations and friends; and from one he begs a cow, from another a sheep; a

* When a woman of the lower class in Scotland, however poor, and whether married or single, commences housekeeping, her *first* care, after what is absolutely necessary for the time, is to provide *death-linen* for herself, and those who look to her for that office; and her *next*, to earn, save, and *lay up (not put out to interest)*, as much money as may decently serve for funeral expences; and many keep sacred those honourable deposits and

third gives him seed to sow his land, and so on, till he has procured for himself a tolerable stock for a beginner. This they call *thigging*.

After the death of any one, not in the lowest circumstances, the friends and acquaintance of the deceased assemble to keep the near relations company the first night; and they dance,* as if it were at a wedding, till the next morning, though all the time the corpse lies before them in the same room. If the deceased be a woman, the widower leads up the first dance; if a man, the widow. But this Highland custom I knew, to my disturbance, within less than a quarter of a mile of Edinburgh, before I had been among

salutary *mementos* for two or three score years, or longer. This gives a very favourable and edifying picture of the state of mind and sentiment among the Scotish peasantry, on which many excellent remarks will be found in Mrs. Grant's Essays on the superstitions of the Highlanders.—Strangers have suspected that lady of *partiality;* but it is a partiality very honourably earned by those who are the objects of it.

* In some parts of the country the funeral dances are still kept up. They commence on the evening of the death; all the neighbours attend the summons; and the dance, accompanied by a solemn, melancholy strain called a *lament*, is begun by the nearest relatives, who are joined by most of those present; and this is repeated every evening until the interment. These dances may, perhaps, be intended as an expression of joy that their friend is removed from this vale of tears to a better state of existence: and though the practice does not commend itself to the refined mind, yet it conveys no absolute impropriety. I cannot say so

the Mountains. It was upon the death of a smith, next door to my lodgings, who was a Highlander.

The upper class hire women to moan and lament at the funeral of their nearest relations. These women cover their heads with a small piece of cloth, mostly green, and every now and then break out into a hideous howl and Ho-bo-bo-bo-boo, as I have often heard is done in some parts of Ireland.

This part of the ceremony is called a *coronoch*, and, generally speaking, is the cause of much drunkenness, attended with its concomitants, mischievous rencounters and bloody broils; for

much with respect to another prevailing custom in the Highlands. I allude to their habit of drinking at funerals. A neighbourhood scarcely ever, I believe, assemble upon these occasions without raising their drooping spirits above the ordinary pitch by whiskey, the favourite liquor of the country. The following circumstance was related to us by an eye-witness. A person, originally from Oban, had spent some time in the neighbourhood of Inverary in the exercise of some mechanic art, and dying there, his corpse, at his own request, was carried by his friends towards Oban for interment. On a hill between Inverary and Loch Awe, just above Port Sonachan, they were met by the relations of the deceased from Oban, who came to convey the corpse the remainder of the way. The parting could not take place without a glass of spirits, that had been plentifully provided by the Oban party. The drinking commenced, and continued until upwards of forty persons were rendered incapable of motion from its disgusting effects.—*Garnett's Tour*, vol. i. 119, 120.

all that have arms in their possession, accoutre themselves with them upon those occasions.

I have made mention of their funeral piles in a former letter; but I had once occasion to take particular notice of a heap of stones, near the middle of a small piece of arable land. The plough was carefully guided as near to it as possible; and the pile, being like others I had seen upon the moors, I asked, by an interpreter, whether there was a rock beneath it; but, being answered in the negative, I further inquired the reasons why they lost so much ground, and did not remove the heap. To this I had for answer, it was a burial place, and they deemed it a kind of sacrilege to remove a single stone; and that the children, from their infancy, were taught the same veneration for it. Thus a parcel of loose stones are more religiously preserved among them than, with us, the costly monuments in Westminster-Abbey; and thence I could not but conclude that the inclination to preserve the remains and memory of the dead is greater with those people than it is among us. The Highlanders, even here in this town, cannot forego the practice of the Hills, in raising heaps of stones over such as have lost their lives by some misfortune; for, in Oliver's Fort, no sooner was the body of an officer removed from the place where he fell in a duel, than they set about the raising such a

heap of stones upon the spot where he had lain. So much for mountain-monuments.

Those who are said to have the *second sight** deal chiefly in deaths, and it is often said to be

* Of an opinion received for centuries by a whole nation, and supposed to be confirmed, through its whole descent, by a series of successive facts, it is desirable that the truth should be established or the fallacy detected. The second sight is an impression made either by the mind upon the eye, or by the eye upon the mind; by which things distant or future are perceived, and seen as if they were present. A man, on a journey far from home, falls from his horse; another, who is perhaps at work about the house, sees him bleeding on the ground, commonly with a landscape of the place where the accident befals him; another seer, driving home his cattle, or wandering in idleness, or musing in the sunshine, is suddenly surprised by the appearance of a bridal ceremony, or funeral procession, and counts the mourners or attendants, of whom, if he knows them, he relates the names; if he knows them not, he can describe their dresses. Things distant are seen at the instant when they happen: of things future, I know not that there is any rule for determining the time between the sight and the event. The receptive faculty, for power it cannot be called, is neither voluntary nor constant. The appearances have no dependence upon choice; they cannot be summoned, detained, or recalled—the impression is sudden, and the effect often painful.

To collect sufficient testimonies, for the satisfaction of the public, or of ourselves, would have required more time than we could bestow. There is against it, the seeming analogy of things confusedly seen and little understood; and for it, the indistinct cry of national persuasion, which may be, perhaps, at last resolved into prejudice and tradition. I never could advance my curiosity to conviction, but came away at last only willing to believe.—*Johnson's Journey*, Works, vol. viii. 343.

a gift peculiar to some families;—that is, the cheat has, with some, been handed down from father to son:* yet I must confess they seldom fail to be right when they reveal their predictions, for they take the surest method to prophetise, which is to divulge the oracle after the fact. Of this I had once an opportunity to convince a Highland gentleman, from whom I thought might have been expected more reason and less prejudice, than to be gulled by such impostors.

The matter was this:—A poor Highlander was drowned in wading a ford, and his body afterwards put into a small barn; not many days after, the laird, endeavouring to pass the same water, which was hard by his own house,

* In mountainous regions, deceptions of sight, *fata morgana*, &c. are more common; and these, with the effects of dreary solitude and awful vastness upon the imagination, give rise to superstitions to which the enthusiasm of the Highlanders, and the warmth of affection with which they cherish the living and the dead, has given some peculiar features. Their superstitions are, in general, very poetical, reduced to a more regular system than elsewhere, and all of a moral tendency, as well as favourable to religion. An illiterate Highlander loses much more than he gains by getting rid of them. But this subject has fallen into much better hands; and Mrs. Grant's admirable Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders are, or ought to be, read by all who are curious in the history of the human mind in general, or of the Highlanders in particular.

his horse gave way, and he was likewise drowned, and carried into the same hut. Soon after, a story began to pass for current, that such-a-one, the *second-sighted,* foretold, when the body of the poor man lay exposed to view, that it would not be long before a greater man than he should lie in the same place. This was all that was pretended, and that too was afterwards found to be an invention, arising from the circumstance of two persons, at a little distance of time, being drowned in the same ford, and both their bodies carried to one hovel, which, indeed, stood singly, near the place where they were both stopped by the rocks.

Witches and goblins are likewise pretty common among the Highlanders, and they have several old prophecies handed down to them by tradition; among which, this is one,—That the time shall come when they shall measure out the cloth of London with a long pole.*

As the little manufacture they had was cloth, so, at the time when this pretended prophecy was broached, they esteemed that the only riches, and did not know of the treasure of Lombard-Street; like the country boy, that fed

* This had some sense, it, as well as the following:—"The time shall come when every river shall have a bridge where it has a boat, and a *white cairn* (stone-and-lime edifice) on every green slope on its banks."

poorly and worked hard, who said, if he were a gentleman, he would eat fat bacon, and swing all day long upon Gaffer such-a-one's *yate*.

A certain laird, whom I have mentioned several times before, though not by name, is frequently heard to affirm, that, at the instant he was born, a number of swords, that hung up in the hall of the mansion-house, leaped of themselves out of the scabbards, in token, I suppose, that he was to be a mighty man in arms; and this vain romance seems to be believed by the lower order of his followers; and I believe there are many that laugh at it in secret, who dare not publicly declare their disbelief. But, because the miracle has hitherto only portended the command of his clan and an independent company, he has endeavoured to supply the defeat of the presage by his own epitaph, altogether as romantic, in his own kirk, which he still lives to read, whenever he pleases to gratify his vanity with the sight of it.

They have an odd notion relating to dead bodies that are to be transported over rivers, lakes, or arms of the sea: before it is put on board they appraise and ascertain the value of the boat or vessel, believing, if that be neglected, some accident will happen to endanger the lives of those who are embarked in it; but, upon recollection, I think some of our seamen

entertain this idle fancy in some measure; for, I have heard, they do not care for a voyage with a corpse on board, as though it would be the occasion of tempestuous weather: and, lastly (for I shall not trouble you longer with things of this kind, which are without number), the Highlanders are of opinion, that it is in the power of certain enchantresses to prevent the act of procreation; but I am rather inclined to believe it was originally a male artifice among them to serve as an excuse in case of imbecility.*

The marriages of the chiefs and chieftains are, for the most part, confined to the circuit of the Highlands; and they generally endeavour to strengthen their clan by what they call powerful alliances: but I must not be understood to include any of the prime nobility of Scotland, of whom there are some chiefs of clans: their dignity places them quite out of the reach of any thing I have said, or have to say, in relation to the heads of Highland families, who reside constantly with them, and govern them in person. As to the lower class of gentry and the ordinary people, they generally marry in the clan whereto they appertain.

All this may be political enough, *i. e.* the chief to have regard to the Highlands in gene-

* See Burns's "Address to the Deil."

ral, and his followers to their own particular tribe or family, in order to preserve themselves a distinct people; but this continues them in a narrow way of thinking with respect to the rest of mankind, and also prevents that addition to the circumstances of the whole, or part of the Highlands, which might be made by marriages of women of fortune in the Lowlands. This, in time, might have a good effect, by producing an union, instead of that coldness, to say no more, which subsists, at present, between the natives of those two parts of Scotland, as if they bore no relation one to another, considered as men and subjects of the same kingdom, and even the same part of it. Yet I must here (and by the bye) take notice of one thing, wherein they perfectly agree, which experience has taught me to know perfectly well; and that is, to grudge and envy those of the south part of the island any profitable employment among them, although they themselves are well received and equally encouraged and employed with the natives in that part of the kingdom; and I think further, they have sometimes more than their share, if they must needs keep up such a partial and invidious distinction.

But to return to the marriages of the Highlanders.—Perhaps, after what has been said of

the country, it may be asked, what Lowland woman would care to lead a life attended with so many inconveniencies? Doubtless there are those who would be as fond of sharing the clannish state and power with a husband, as some others are of a name, when they sell themselves for a title; for each of these kinds of vanity is very flattering: besides, there are many of the Lowland women who seem to have a great liking to the Highlandmen, which they cannot forbear to insinuate in their ordinary conversation. But such marriages are very rare; and I know but one instance of them, which, I must confess, will not much recommend the union of which I have been speaking; but then it is but one, and cannot be the cause of any general inference.

A certain chieftain took to wife the daughter of an Edinburgh goldsmith; but this Lowland match was the cause of much discontent in the tribe, as being not only a diminution of the honour of the house, but, in their opinion, an ill precedent besides; and nothing was more common among the people of that branch of the clan, than to ask among themselves—"Were there not smiths enough in the clan that had daughters? How comes our chief then to have married the daughter of a Lowland smith?" Making no distinction between an Edinburgh

goldsmith and a Highland blacksmith. They thought it was a disgrace, of which every one partook, that he should match himself with a tradesman's daughter, a Lowland woman, and no way derived from the tribe.

This proved in the end to be a fatal marriage; but as it is uncertain, and therefore would be unjust for me to determine, in a matter whereof I have not a perfect knowledge, I cannot conclude which of the two, the husband or the wife, was the occasion of the sad catastrophe. I shall only say what I know, viz. that an old rough Highlander, of sixty at least, was imprisoned at one of the barracks, while I was there, for accepting favours from the lady. She was to be sent to Edinburgh to answer the accusation; and, while she was preparing to go, and the messenger waiting without doors, to conduct her thither—*she died.*

The clan whereto the above-mentioned tribe belongs, is the only one I have heard of which is without a chief;—that is, being divided into families under several chieftains, without any particular patriarch of the whole name: and this is a great reproach, as may appear from an affair that fell out at my table in the Highlands, between one of that name and a Cameron. The provocation given by the latter was *Name your chief.*—The return to it at once was, *You*

are a fool. They went out the next morning; but, having early notice of it, I sent a small party of soldiers after them, which, in all probability, prevented some barbarous mischief that might have ensued; for the chiefless Highlander, who is himself a petty chieftain, was going to the place appointed with a small-sword and pistol;* whereas the Cameron (an old man) took with him only his broad-sword, according to agreement.

When all was over, and I had at least seemingly reconciled them, I was told the words (of which I seemed to think but slightly), were to one of that clan the greatest of all provocations.

In a bargain between two Highlanders, each of them wets the ball of his thumb with his mouth, and, then joining them together, it is esteemed a very binding act;† but, in more solemn engagements, they take an oath in a manner which I shall describe in some succeeding letter.

When any one of them is armed at all points,

* *The Highlanders had just been disarmed*, otherwise no Highlander would have carried a *small* sword that could have procured a *broad* one; and the *pistol* was as much a *part of dress* as the philibeg, and had nothing to do with the duel. He that took unfair advantages in single combat was renounced by his own clan, and no other would receive or protect him.

† This, in the Lowlands, is called *palming thumbs*, and is still in use, but chiefly among children.

he is loaded with a target, a firelock, a heavy broad-sword, a pistol, stock and lock of iron, a dirk; and, besides all these, some of them carry a sort of knife, which they call a *skeen-ochles*, from its being concealed in the sleeve near the arm-pit.

This last is more peculiar to the robbers, who have done mischief with it, when they were thought to have been effectually disarmed.

To see a Highlander thus furnished out might put one in mind of *Merry Andrew*, when he comes from behind the curtain, in a warlike manner, to dispute the doctor's right to his stage. He is then, in his own individual person, a whole company of foot, being loaded with one of every species of the arms and trophies of a regiment, viz. a pike, halbert, firelock, sword, bayonet, colours, and drum.

Sometimes, when a company of them have previously resolved and agreed to be peaceable and friendly over their usky, they have drawn their dirks and stuck them all into the [*cheese*] table before them, as who should say, "Nothing but peace at this meeting—no private stabbing to-night." But, in promiscuous companies, at great assemblies, such as fairs, burials, &c. where much drunkenness prevails, there scarcely ever fails to be great riots and much mischief done among them.

To shoot at a mark, they lay themselves all along behind some stone or hillock, on which they rest their piece, and are a long while taking their aim; by which means they can destroy any one unseen, on whom they would wreak their malice or revenge.

When in sight of the enemy, they endeavour to possess themselves of the higher ground, as knowing they give their fire more effectually by their situation one above another, being without discipline; and also that they afterwards descend on the enemy with greater force, having, in some measure, put it out of their power to recede in the first onset.

After their first fire (I need not have said their first, for they rarely stand a second), they throw away their fire-arms and plaids, which encumber them, and make their attack with their swords; but if repulsed, they seldom or never rally, but return to their habitations. If they happen to engage in a plain, when they expect the enemy's fire, they throw themselves down on the ground. They had ever a dread of the cavalry, and did not care to engage them, though but few in number.*

* At Killicrankie they certainly showed no such fear; but, in general, the author's remark is just; and it was not easy to persuade many of them, who had never encountered cavalry, that the horses were not trained to bite, and strike with their fore-feet.

I chanced to be in company one time with an old Highlander, as I passed over the plain of Killicranky, where the battle was fought between king William's troops, commanded by general Mackay, and the rebel Highlanders under the earl [*viscount*] of Dundee.

When he came to the great stone that is raised about the middle of the flat, upon the spot where Dundee fell, we stopped; and there he described to me, in his manner, the order and end of the battle, of which I shall now give you the substance only, for he was long in telling his story.

He told me that Mackay extended his line, which was only two deep, the whole length of the plain; designing, as he supposed, to surround the Highlanders, if they should descend from the side of an opposite hill, where they were posted. That after the first firing, the rebels came down, six or seven deep, to attack the king's troops; and, their rear pushing on their front, they by their weight charged through and through those feeble files; and, having broke them, made with their broad-swords a most cruel carnage; and many others who expected no quarter, in order to escape the Highland fury, threw themselves into that rapid river (the Tay), and were drowned. But he said there was an English regiment who kept

themselves entire (the only one that was there), whom the Highlanders did not care to attack; and, after the slaughter was over and the enemy retired, that single corps marched from the field in good order. He further told me, there were some few horse badly mounted, who, by the strength and weight of the Highland files were pushed into the river, which was close in their rear.*

On any sudden alarm and danger of distress to the chief, he gives notice of it throughout his own clan, and to such others as are in alliance with him. This is done by sending a signal, which they call the *fiery-cross*,† being two sticks tied together transversely, and burnt at the ends; with this, he sends directions in writing, to signify the place of rendezvous. And, when the principal person of any place has received this token, he dismisses the messenger, and sends it forward to another; and so on, till all have received the intelligence. Upon the re-

* See note at the end of this letter.

† Mr. Pennant thus describes the sending of the *fiery-cross*.—"In every clan there is a known place of rendezvous, styled *Carn-a-whin*, to which they must resort on this signal. A person is sent out full-speed with a pole burnt at one end and bloody at the other, and with a cross at the top, which is called *crosh-tàrie* (the cross of shame, or the fiery-cross): the first, from the disgrace they would undergo if they declined appearing; the second, from the penalty of having fire and sword carried through their country

ceipt of this signal, all that are near immediately leave their habitations, and repair to the place appointed, with their arms, and oatmeal for their provision. This they mingle with the water of the next river or bourn they come to, when hunger calls for a supply; and often, for want of a proper vessel, sup the raw mixture out of the palms of their hands.

They have been used to impose a tax upon the inhabitants of the Low-country, near the borders of the Highlands, called *black mail** (or

in case of refusal. The first bearer delivers it to the next person he meets, he running full-speed to the third, and so on. In every clan the bearer had a peculiar cry of war: that of the Macdonalds was *Freich*, or heath; that of the Grants, *Craig-elachie;* of the Mackenzies, *Tulliekard.* In the late rebellion, it was sent by some unknown, disaffected hand through the country of Breadalbane, and passed through a tract of thirty-two miles in three hours, but without effect."—*Pennant's Scotland*, vol. i. 212, 213.

The *cran-tarra* was used among the ancient Scandinavians, who, it is probable, introduced it into the Highlands.

* The celebrated Barisdale carried the art of plunder to the highest pitch of perfection. Besides exerting all the common practices, he imposed that article of commerce called the *black-meal* to a degree beyond what was ever known to his predecessors. This was a forced levy, so called from its being commonly paid in meal, which was raised far and wide on the estate of every nobleman and gentleman, in order that their cattle might be secured from the lesser thieves, over whom he secretly presided, and whom he protected. He raised an income of five hundred a-year by these taxes, and behaved with genuine honour in restoring, on proper consideration, the stolen cattle of his

rent), and levy it upon them by force; and sometimes upon the weaker clans among themselves. But as it was made equally criminal, by several acts of parliament, to comply with this exaction and to extort it, the people, to avoid the penalty, came to agreement with the robbers, or some of their correspondents in the Lowlands, to protect their houses and cattle. And, as long as this payment was punctually made, the depredations ceased, or otherwise the collector of this imposition was by contract

friends. He observed a strict fidelity towards his own gang, and yet was indefatigible in bringing to justice any rogues that interfered with his own. He was a man of a polished behaviour, fine address, and fine person. He considered himself in a very high light, as a benefactor to the public, and preserver of general tranquillity; for on the silver plates, the ornaments of his baldrick, he thus addresses his broad-sword—

Hæ tibi erunt artes, pacis componere mores;
Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos.

Pennant's Scotland, vol. ii. 405.

Barisdale, as described here and elsewhere, is presumed to have furnished the original for the character of M'Iver, in "Waverly." Mr. Pennant is wrong in his derivation of *black-mail*, of which a good account will be found in the Glossaries of Schilter and Wachter. It is compounded of *black*, from *blacken*, to plunder, and *mal*, a mark; land-mark; *term;* tribute, the payment of which *marked* a certain *term; rent.*—When a Scotsman says he has paid his *mail*, (*i. e.* rent), it is as if he said "he has paid his *term*," which is commonly *martinmas*. The word *mail* has crept into the Gaëlic from the Saxon.

obliged to make good the loss, which he seldom failed to do.

These collectors gave regular receipts, as for safeguard money; and those who refused to pay it, were sure to be plundered, except they kept a continual guard of their own, well armed, which would have been a yet more expensive way of securing their property. And, notwithstanding the guard of the independant Highland companies, which were raised chiefly to prevent thefts and impositions of this nature, yet I have been certainly informed, that this *black mail*, or evasive safeguard-money, has been very lately paid in a disarmed part of the northern Highlands; and, I make no doubt, in other places besides, though it has not yet come to my knowledge.*

The gathering in of rents is called *uplifting*

* In 1341, a Monroe of Foulis having met with some affront from the inhabitants of Strathardale, between Perth and Athol, determined on revenge, collected his clan, made his inroad, and returned with a large booty of cattle. As he passed by Moy-hall, this threshold of the Highlands, the Macintosh of 1454 sent to demand the *strike creich*, or *road collop*, being a certain part of the booty, challenged according to an ancient custom by the chieftains, for liberty of passing with it through their territories. Monroe acquiesced in the demand, and offered a reasonable share: but not less than half would content the chieftain of Clan Chatten. This was refused, and a battle ensued, in which Macintosh was killed, and Munroe lost his hand.—*Pennant's Scotland*, vol. i. 209.

them, and the stealing of cows they call *lifting*, a softening word for theft; as if it were only collecting their dues. This I have often heard; but it has so often occurred to me, that we have the word *shop-lifting*, in the sense of stealing, which I take to be an old English compound word. But, as to the etymology of it, I leave that to those who are fond of such unprofitable disquisitions, though I think this is pretty evident.

When a design is formed for this purpose, they go out in parties from ten to thirty men, and traverse large tracts of mountains, till they arrive at the place where they intend to commit their depredations; and that they choose to do as distant as they can from their own dwellings. The principal time for this wicked practice is the Michaelmas moon,* when the cattle are in condition fit for markets, held on the borders of the Lowlands. They drive the stolen cows in

* Theft and plundering, instead of being infamous, were reckoned the most wholesome exercises of youth, when they were without the limits of their own community, and were not taken in the fact. From this source the chiefs derived rewards for their numerous followers, and dowries sometimes for their daughters. It is known that one of them engaged, in a contract of marriage, to give his son-in-law the purchase of three *Michaelmas moons*, at a season of the year when the nights were long, and the cattle strong enough to bear hard driving. This transaction happened

the night-time, and by day they lie concealed with them in bye-places among the mountains, where hardly any others come; or in woods, if any such are to be found in their way.

I must here ask leave to digress a little, and take notice, that I have several times used the word *cows* for a drove of cattle. This is according to the Highland style;* for they say A drove of cows, when there are bulls and oxen among them, as we say A flock of geese, though there be in it many ganders. And having just now mentioned the time of *lifting*, it revived in my memory a malicious saying of the Lowlanders, viz. that the Highland lairds tell out their daughters' *tochers* by the light of the Michaelmas moon.† But to return:

on the main land, where dark woods, extensive wastes, high forked mountains, and a coast indented with long winding branches of the sea, favoured the trade. Those were strong holds, little frequented by strangers, where the ancient practices and prejudices might be preserved to the last period of time, without some such violent shock as that of the year 1745.—*Pennant's Scotland*, vol. iii. 427.

* He should have said "the *Lowland* style."

† These peculiarities of speech, &c. belong to the Scotish and English borderers, by whom, in speaking English to the author, they have been appropriated to the Highlanders. *Lifting* means *raising;* and they talk of *lifting cattle*, as an Englishman does of *raising* rents, taxes, contributions, &c.

Sometimes one band of these robbers* has agreed with another to exchange the stolen cattle; and, in this case, they used to commit their robberies nearer home; and by appointing a place of rendezvous, those that *lifted* in the north-east (for the purpose) have exchanged with others toward the west, and each have sold them not many miles from home, which was commonly at a very great distance from the place where they were stolen. Nay, further, as I have been well informed, in making this contract of exchange, they have, by correspondence, long before they went out, described to each other the colour and marks of the cows destined to be stolen and exchanged.

I remember a story concerning a Highland-

* The greatest robbers were used to preserve hospitality to those that come to their houses; and, like the wild Arabs, observed the strictest honour towards their guests, or those that put implicit confidence in them. The Kennedies, two common thieves, took the young pretender under protection, and kept him with faith inviolate, notwithstanding they knew an immense reward was offered for his head. They often robbed for his support; and, to supply him with linen, they once surprised the baggage-horses of one of our general officers. They often went in disguse to Inverness, to buy provisions for him. At length, a very considerable time after, one of these poor fellows, who had virtue sufficient to resist the temptation of thirty thousand pounds, was hanged for stealing a cow, value thirty shillings.—*Pennant's Scotland*, vol. ii. 401.

woman, who, begging a charity of a Lowland laird's lady, was asked several questions; and, among the rest, how many husbands she had had? To which she answered, three. And being further questioned, if her husbands had been kind to her, she said the two first were honest men, and very careful of their family, for they both *died for the law*,—that is, were hanged for theft. "Well, but as to the last?" "Hout!" says she, "a fulthy peast! he dy'd at hame, lik an auld dug, on a *puckle* o' strae."*

Those that have lost their cattle sometimes pursue them by the tract, and recover them from the thieves. Or if in the pursuit they are *hounded* (as they phrase it) into the bounds of any other chief, whose followers were not concerned in the robbery, and the track is there lost, he is obliged by law to trace them out of his territory, or make them good to the owner.

By the way, the heath, or heather, being pressed by the foot, retains the impression, or at least some remains of it, for a long while, before it rises again effectually; and besides, you know, there are other visible marks left behind by the cattle. But even a single High-

* This woman was a worthless vagrant, such as may be found in any country, and had naturally connected herself with persons of her own sort; but neither she nor they were fair specimens of Highland character.

lander has been found by the track of his foot, when he took to hills out of the common ways, for his greater safety in his flight, as thinking he could not so well be discovered from hill to hill, every now and then, as he often might be in the road (as they call it) between the mountains.

If the pursuers overtake the robbers, and find them inferior in number, and happen to seize any of them, they are seldom prosecuted,* there being but few who are in circumstances fit to support the expence of a prosecution; or, if they were, they would be liable to have their houses burnt, their cattle hocked, and their lives put in danger, from some of the clan to which the banditti belonged.

But, with the richer sort, the chief, or chieftain, generally makes a composition, when it comes to be well known the thieves belonged to his tribe, which he willingly pays, to save the

* And it ought to be added here, for the consideration of our legislature, that this forbearance tended to *diminish, instead of increasing the number of offenders and offences.* We know no people who are so averse to *taking away life*, except in fair fighting in the field, as the Highlanders: even their most adventurous and irreclaimable freebooters contemplated with horror the misfortune (regarded as fatal) of having *the curse of blood upon their heads.* It would ruin Rob Roy, as a *fashionable hero*, to insinuate that he never committed a *murder* in his life; and yet we think it most probable that he never did!

lives of some of his clan; and this is repaid him by a contribution among the robbers, who never refuse to do their utmost to save those of their fraternity. But it has been said this payment has been sometimes made in cows, stolen from the opposite side of the country, or paid out of the produce of them when sold at the market.

It is certain some of the Highlanders* think of this kind of depredation as our deer-stealers do of their park and forest enterprizes;—that is, to be a small crime, or none at all. And, as the latter would think it a scandalous reproach to be charged with robbing a hen-roost, so the Highlander thinks it less shameful to steal a hundred cows than one single sheep; for a sheep-stealer is infamous even among them.

If I am mistaken in that part of my account

* There is not an instance of any country having made so sudden a change in its morals as that of the Highlands: security and civilization now possess every part; yet thirty years have not elapsed since the whole was a den of thieves of the most extraordinary kind. They conducted their plundering excursions with the utmost policy, and reduced the whole art of theft into a regular system. From habit it lost all appearance of criminality: they considered it as labouring in their vocation; and, when a party was formed for an expedition against another's property, they and their friends prayed as earnestly for success, as if they were engaged in the most laudable design.—*Pennant's Scotland*, vol. ii. 400.

of the *lifting* of cattle, which is beyond my own knowledge, you may lay the blame to those gentlemen who gave me the information.

But there is no more wonder that men of honesty and probity should disclose, with abhorrence, the evil practices of the vile part of their countrymen, than that I should confess to them we have, among us, a number of villains that cannot plead the least shadow of an excuse for their thievings and highway-robberies, unless they could make a pretence of their idleness and luxury.

When I first came into these parts, a Highland gentleman, in order to give me a notion of the ignorance of some of the ordinary Highlanders, and their contempt of the Lowland laws (as they call them), gave me an account, as we were walking together, of the behaviour of a common Highlandman at his trial before the lords of justiciary in the Low-country. By the way, the appearance of those gentlemen upon the bench is not unlike that of our judges in England.

I shall repeat the fellow's words, as near as I can, by writing in the same broken accent as my Highland friend used in mimicking the criminal.

This man was accused of stealing, with others, his accomplices, a good number of cattle; and,

while his indictment was in reading, setting forth that he, as a common thief, had lain in wait, &c. the Highlander lost all patience, and, interrupting, cried out, "Common tief! common tief! steal ane cow, twa cow, dat be common tief: lift hundred cow, dat be shentilman's trovers." After the court was again silent, and some little progress had been made in the particulars of the accusation, he again cried out, "Ah, hone! dat such fine shentilmans should sit dere wid der fine cowns on, te mak a parshel o' lees on a peur honesht mon."

But, in conclusion, when he was told what was to be his fate, he roared out most outrageously, and, fiercely pointing at the judges, he cried out, "Ah, for a proad-sword an a tirk, to rid de hoose o' tose foul peastes!"

Personal robberies are seldom heard of among them: for my own part, I have several times, with a single servant, passed the mountain-way from hence to Edinburgh, with four or five hundred guineas in my portmanteau, without any apprehension of robbers by the way, or danger in my lodgings by night; though, in my sleep, any one, with ease, might have thrust a sword, from the outside, through the wall of the hut and my body together. I wish we could say as much of our own country, civilized as it

is said to be, though one cannot be safe in going from London to Highgate.

Indeed, in trifling matters, as a knife, or some such thing, which they have occasion for, and think it will cause no very strict inquiry, they are, some of them, apt to pilfer; while a silver spoon, or a watch, might lie in safety, because they have no means to dispose of either, and to make use of them would soon discover their theft. But I cannot approve the Lowland saying, viz. "Show me a Highlander, and I will show you a thief."

Yet, after all, I cannot forbear doing justice upon a certain laird, whose lady keeps a *change* far in the Highlands, west of this town.

This gentleman, one day, opportunity tempting, took a fancy to the lock of an officer's pistol; another time he fell in love (like many other men) with a fair but deceitful outside, in taking the boss of a bridle, silvered over, to be all of that valuable metal.* It is true, I never lost any thing at his hut; but the proverb made me watchful—I need not repeat it.

* Such things might have been injured, and afterwards put out of the way, by some over-curious and mischievous boy, but certainly never were *stolen* by a man. The accusation was probably an invention of the officer's servant to save himself from blame.

But let this account of him be of no consequence; for, I do assure you, I never knew any one of his rank do any thing like it in all the Highlands.

And, for my own part, I do not remember that ever I lost any thing among them but a pair of new doe-skin gloves; and, at another time, a horse-cloth, made of plaiding, which was taken away while my horses were swimming across a river; and that was sent me the next day to Fort William, to which place I was going when it was taken from the rest of my baggage, as it lay upon the ground. I say nothing in this place of another robbery, because I know the motive to it was purely revenge.

I thought I had done with this part of my subject; but there is just now come to my remembrance a passage between an ordinary Highlandman and an officer on half-pay, who lives in this town, and is himself of Highland extraction.

He told me, a long while ago, that, on a certain time, he was going on foot, and unattended, upon a visit to a laird, about seven or eight miles among the Hills; and, being clad in a new glossy summer-suit (instead of his Highland dress, which he usually wore upon such occasions), there overtook him in his way an

ordinary fellow, who forced himself upon him as a companion.

When they had gone together about a mile, his new fellow-traveller said to him—"Troth, ye ha getten bra clais;" of which the officer took little notice; but, some time after, the fellow began to look sour, and to snort, as they do when they are angry: "Ah, 'tis ponny geer! what an I sho'd tak 'em frae ye noo?" Upon this, the officer drew a pistol from his breast, and said, "What do you think of this?"

But, at sight of the pistol, the fellow fell on his knees, and squalled out, "Ah, hone! ah, hone! she was but shokin."

It is true, this dialogue passed in Irish, but this is the language in which I was told the story.

But I have known several instances of common Highlanders, who, finding themselves like to be worsted, have crouched and howled like a beaten spaniel, so suddenly has their insolence been turned into fawning. But, you know, we have both of us seen, in our own country, a change in higher life not less unmanly.

You may see, by this additional article, that I can conceal nothing from you, even though it may seem, in some measure, to call in question what I had been saying before.

THE

VISCOUNT DUNDEE,

AND

MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY.

THE favourable light in which the VISCOUNT DUNDEE appears in the admirable "TALES OF MY LANDLORD," having lately occasioned a good deal of discussion in England, and more particularly in Scotland; and the supposed partiality of the author to this hero, having given rise to much heavy complaint, and many severe animadversions from the more rigid Presbyterians of the old school; we have thought proper to subjoin here, characters of him and his rival, as they are drawn by a cool, sensible, impartial and conscientious man, who had the advantage of easy and confidential intercourse with the best-informed people of his time, who were able to speak from their own personal knowledge. They are taken from "*A short Account of Scotland; being a Description of the Nature of that Kingdom, and what the Constitution of it is in Church and State, &c. written by the late Reverend Mr. Thomas Morer, Minister of St. Ann's, within Aldersgate, when he was Chaplain to a Scotch Regiment.*" This tract was first published, as we have been informed, about the beginning of last century; and the edition now before us is dated 1715. It is extremely rare; and we have no reason to believe that the wonderful author of the "Tales" knew of its existence, till after the publication of that popular work.

"DUNDEE was by name *Graham*, and by title *Clavers*, educated at *St. Andrew's*; where, in his minority, he was admired for his parts, and respects to Church-men, which made him dear to the *Arch-Bishop*, of that See, who ever after honour'd and lov'd him. Grown to maturity, he goes to Holland, where he was in the

service of the *Prince of Orange*, but continued in it not very long, upon some disgust there given him. At his return, however, the *Prince* gave him a letter of recommendation, directed to the *Duke of York*, with a request to provide for him; which accordingly the Duke did, by interceding with his brother *King Charles the Second*, for an *Horse-Captain's* Commission in Scotland, where forces were then raising: and 'twas a particular testimony of the King's favour; for though he allowed *Duke Lauderdale* to dispose of the other commissions as he thought good, yet he excepted *Mr. Graham's*, and 'twas the only exception on that occasion. He behaved himself so well in this post, that afterwards some scatter'd and *independent* troops being formed into a *regiment*, *Capt. Grahame* was made their *Colonel*, and, in progress of time, *Major-General* of all the *Scotch* forces, with which character he came to England, at the landing of the *Prince* 1688. Being found very capable to serve the crown, he was admitted into the *Privy Council*, who inlarged his commission, and gave him power to reduce the *West*, and make the *Dissenters* comply with the constitution of the Church as it then was; which he happily then compassed by many struggles, and by laying great fines on 'em, but seldom exacting 'em with rigour. By *King James* the 7th. he was made *Viscount of Dundee*, his *seat* being near that *Burrough*. And upon the news of the *Prince's* coming, he was order'd to march with his regiment into *England*; where he was like to have commanded as *eldest Major-General*, but the English officers with the same commissions would not bear it. He advised *K. James* to three things; *One*, to fight the Prince of *Orange*; *Another*, to go personally to the Prince, and demand his business; the *Last*, to make his way into *Scotland*, upon the coldness, he observed, in the *English* army and nation. This advice the King was inclined to take, but that the news of some *Scotch Peers and Gentlemen's* hast'ning to London, dishearten'd him, who were suspected to favour the Prince's design. On the *King's* departure, he apply'd himself to the *Prince*, with whom he was too free in

declaring his thoughts, and therefore could expect no kind reception. Upon this he retired; and hearing of the *Scotch Convention*, he began his journey to Edinburgh, to be present at it. A while he sat at this Convention, but discovering a design in hand to assassinate him, he first complain'd; and the complaint not taking effect, he absented from that *meeting*; and, at last, with 40 *Horse* (which a little before he commanded, and were resolved to run his fortune) rid home, having had first some communication with the *Duke of Gourdon*, who, in behalf of *King James*, commanded the *Castle*, and would not deliver it up for any proposals made by the *Convention*. This treating with the *Duke of Gourdon*, gave his enemies advantage, who thereupon obtain'd a vote to make him an *intercommon'd* Person, and sent an officer to require him to appear before 'em at Edinburgh. But he excused himself by two reasons; 1st, his own danger; 2dly, the indisposition of his Lady, who lay in, and was also in some danger on account of labour. Whereupon the *Convention* proceeds, orders him to be apprehended, and by that means forces him with his little guard into the Mountains; where the *Highlanders* flocked to him in such numbers, that at last they became a formidable army: with these he came to *Gilli-cranky*; and had he not been there killed, he had been at Edinburgh a few days after.

"He was a gentleman fix'd in his *Religion*, so that *King James* could not charm him into any dislike of it; but the more he found it opposed, the more he loved it. He was a great admirer of the *Church-of-England-Worship;* and often wished Scotland so happy, that where God is served, the service might be done in some happy, *visible instances* of *Reverence*, such as are *Order* and *Decency*. He was of deep thought and indefatigable industry, ready to execute what he design'd, and quick in the contrivance, as well as the execution of it. He was a man of bravery and courage, and therefore led up all his regiments, which indeed were unwilling to advance without him; yet used the care of a *General*, to expose himself no farther than necessity requires, as being the guide and head of his army. And because he was forced to appear

often at the head of each regiment, to advice and inspirit 'em, just before the battel, he put on a *sad-colour'd coat* over his armour, tho' he appear'd in *Red* all the morning before. He seem'd to have no *base ends* in resisting the present government, but (as he said), for *Conscience* and *Loyalty-sake*. And by virtue of this principle it was, that when he *surpriz'd Perth*, he suffered not the least violence or damage to be done the Town; and finding 500*l.* in the *Collector of the Revenue's* Room, besides what belonged to the King, he did not touch it, but said, he intended to rob no man; tho' what was the Crown's, he thought he might make bold with, seeing what he was then doing was purely to serve his *Master*. He was so great a patron to the *Clergy*, that they could hardly mention him without a tear. His death he took with patience, and had at it a sufficient confidence of the Divine Favour. For when his favourite *Pitcor* asked him *how he did?* and told him withal how things went, and that *all was well if he were so:* Then *I am well*, said he; and so immediately died. What they thought of him in Scotland is partly seen by several *copies of Verses* upon his death. This was one of them:

"Ultime Scotorum, potuit, quo sospite solo,
Libertas Patriæ salva fuisse tuæ,
Te moriente, novos accepit Scotia cives,
Accepitque novos, te moriente, Deos.
Illa nequit superesse tibi, Tu non potes illi;
Ergo, Caledoniæ nomen inane, vale!
Tuque vale, Gentis priscæ fortissime Ductor;
Ultime Scotorum, ac ultime Grame, vale!"

"MACKAY was a *High-Lander*, tho' Commander in Chief against 'em. Arrived at Manhood, he sails for *Holland*, to make his fortune; where, gradually rising, he was at last made a *Colonel*, and with that commission returns into Scotland, when the three Regiments were recalled upon *Argyle's* attempt in that kingdom. But Colonel *Douglass* being a *Brigadier* at that time, and some feuds depending between the two families of *Melfort* and *Doug-*

lass, *Melfort* (who by religion and zeal for the Popish Interest, had the ascendant over King *James*), to spight the other family, obtains a commission from the King to make *Col. Mackay* a *Major-General*, that so he might command *Brigadier Douglass*, who was certainly the better officer, as well as the better gentleman. And this is the reason he was chief Commander when *Sir John Lanier* was in Scotland: because *Sir John* was not a *Major-General* till the *landing of the Prince* of Orange, whereas *Mackay* had his commission when *Monmouth* appeared in the *West* some years before.

"He was certainly an *Honest Gentleman*, a zealous *Presbyterian*, and brave enough, as appear'd at *Gilli-cranky*, where, tho' his *conduct* was blamed, his *courage* was not, tho' the flight of his men forc'd him to give way. He was a *good soldier*, with sufficient qualifications for a *Coloneb;* but for a *General* office, it seem'd to be a preferment above his capacity. His ill conduct show'd itself divers ways; *First*, his neglect of ammunition when he marched in the *Blair* of *Athol*, the soldiers having a very slender provision of *powder* and *ball*. *Then*, his going with so weak a force against a formidable enemy, who had many advantages in that place, and not only the mountains, but the *people* to favour 'em. His often marching the *Horse* till it was dark night, when they were to incamp and forage, appeared very strange, when no reason could be offer'd for it: but, on the contrary, 'twas *extremely dangerous* as well as *inconvenient*, to be moving at such an hour. His travelling up and down the country with *great bodies of Horse* without doing any thing, and for ought we could discover, without design to do; this look'd as if he affected a *Cavalcade*, or *Progress*, more than a *War*, and had a mind to ruine the troops, instead of subduing the country. Which, and the like instances, tho' frequently remonstrated by the *English officers*, yet made no impression; but he went on in his way, that it might not be said he wanted those helps in the Art of War, or that *they* knew 'em better than *he*."

LETTER XXIV.

BESIDES tracking the cows, as mentioned in my last letter, there was another means whereby to recover them; which was by sending persons into the country suspected, and by them offering a reward (which they call *tascal-money)* to any who should discover the cattle and those who stole them. This, you may be sure, was done as secretly as possible. The temptation sometimes, though seldom, proved too strong to be resisted; and the cattle being thereby discovered, a restitution, or other satisfaction, was obtained. But, to put a stop to a practice so detrimental to their interest and dangerous to their persons, the thievish part of the Camerons, and others afterwards, by their example, bound themselves by oath never to receive any such reward, or inform one against another.

This oath they take upon a drawn dirk, which they kiss in a solemn manner, consenting, if ever they prove perjured, to be stabbed with the same weapon, or any other of the like sort.

Hence they think no wickedness so great as the breach of this oath, since they hope for impunity in committing almost every other crime, and are so certainly and severely punished for this transgression.

An instance of their severity in this point happened in December, 1723, when one of the said Camerons, suspected of having taken tascal-money, was, in the dead of the night, called out of his hut from his wife and children, and, under pretence of some new enterprize, allured to some distance, out of hearing, and there murdered: and another, for the same crime, as they call it, was either thrown down some precipice, or otherwise made away with, for he was never heard of afterwards.

Having mentioned above the manner of taking their oath, relating to tascal-money, I shall here give you a specimen of a Highland oath upon other occasions; in taking whereof they do not kiss the book, as in England, but hold up their right hand, saying thus, or to this purpose:—

"By God himself, and as I shall answer to God at the great day, I shall speak the truth: if I do not, may I never thrive while I live; may I go to hell and be damned when I die. May my land bear neither grass nor corn: may my wife and bairns never prosper; may

my cows, calves, sheep, and lambs, all perish," &c.

I say to this purpose, for I never heard they had any established form of an oath* among them. Besides, you perceive it must necessarily be varied according to the circumstances of the person who swears, at the discretion of him who administers the oath.

When the chief was an encourager of this kind of theft, which I have the charity to believe was uncommon, and the robbers succeeded in their attempt, he received two-thirds of the spoil, or the produce of it; and the remaining third part was divided among the thieves.

The clans that had among them the most of villains addicted to these robberies are said, by the people bordering on the Highlands, to be

* They paid a sacred regard to their oath; but, as superstition must, among a set of banditti, infallibly supersede piety, each, like the distinct casts of Indians, had his particular object of veneration: one would swear upon his dirk, and dread the penalty of perjury, yet make no scruple of forswearing himself upon the Bible; a second would pay the same respect to the name of his chieftain; a third again would be most religiously bound by the sacred book; and a fourth regard none of the three, and be credited only if he swore by his crucifix. It was always necessary to discover the inclination of the person before you put him to the test; if the object of his veneration was mistaken, the oath was of no avail.—*Pennant's Scotland*, vol. ii. 401.

the Camerons, Mackenzies, the Broadalbinmen, the M'Gregors, and the M'Donalds of Keppoch and Glenco.* The chieftain of these last is said, by his near neighbours, to have little besides those depredations for his support; and the chief of the first, whose clan has been particularly stigmatized for those violences, has, as I am very well informed, strictly forbidden any such vile practices, which has not at all recommended him to some of his followers.

Besides these ill-minded people among the clans, there are some stragglers in the Hills, who, like our gypsies, have no certain habitation, only they do not stroll about in numbers like them. These go singly, and, though perfectly unknown, do not beg at the door, but, without invitation or formal leave, go into a hut, and sit themselves down by the fire, expecting to be supplied with oatmeal for their present food. When bed-time comes, they wrap themselves up in their plaids, or beg the use of a blanket, if any to be spared, for their cover-

* These had the misfortune to be all *Jacobites*, and our author associated only with the favourers of the house of Hanover, from whom he obtained his information, which sufficiently accounts for so injurious a distinction. If, when outlawed, they took *something* from those who had taken *every thing* from them, they deemed it no robbery.

ing, and then lay themselves down upon the ground in some corner of the hut. Thus the man and his wife are often deprived of the freedom of their own habitation, and cannot be alone together. But the inhabitants are in little danger of being pilfered by these guests—nor, indeed, do they seem to be apprehensive of it; for not only there is generally little to be stolen, but, if they took some small matter, it would be of no use to the thief for want of a receiver; and, besides, they would be pursued and easily taken. The people say themselves, if it were not for this connivance of theirs, by a kind of customary hospitality, these wanderers would soon be starved, having no money wherewith to purchase sustenance.*

But I have heard great complaint of this custom from a Highland farmer of more than ordinary substance, at whose dwelling I happened to see an instance of this intrusion, it being very near to the place where I resided for a time; and he told me he should think himself happy if he was taxed at any kind of reasonable rate, to be freed from this great inconvenience.

Above I have given you a sketch of the Highland oath, and here I shall observe to you

* See the extracts from the Gartmore MS. in the Appendix.

how slightly a certain Highlander thought of the Lowland form.

This man was brought as a witness against another in a supposed criminal case: the magistrate tendered him the Low-country oath, and, seeing the fellow addressing himself confidently to take it, though he greatly suspected, by several circumstances, the man was suborned, changed his method, and offered him the Highland oath—"No," says the Highlander, "I cannot do that, for I will not forswear myself to please anybody!"

This single example might be sufficient to show how necessary it is to swear the common people in the method of their own country; yet, by way of chat, I shall give you another, though it be less different in the fact than in the expression.

At Carlisle assizes, a Highlandman, who had meditated the ruin of another, prosecuted him for horse-stealing, and swore positively to the fact.

This being done, the supposed criminal desired his prosecutor might be sworn in the Highland manner; and, the oath being tendered him accordingly, he refused it, saying, "Thar is a hantle o' difference betwixt blawing on a buke and dam'ing one's saul."

But I have heard of several other examples of the same kind, notwithstanding the oath taken in the Low-country has the same introduction, viz. "By God, and as I shall answer, &c." but then the land, wife, children and cattle, are not concerned; for there is no imprecation in it either upon them or him that takes the oath.

As most people, when they begin to grow in years, are unwilling to think themselves incapable of their former pleasures, so some of the Highland gentlemen seem to imagine they still retain that exorbitant power* which they formerly exercised over the lives of their vassals and followers, even without legal trial and examination. Of this power I have heard several

* The chiefs being now deprived of their jurisdiction, have already lost much of their influence; and as they gradually degenerate from patriarchal rulers to rapacious landlords, they will divest themselves of the little that remains. That dignity which they derived from an opinion of their military importance, the law which disarmed them has abated. An old gentleman, that delighted himself with the recollection of better days, related that, forty years ago, a chieftain walked out attended by ten or twelve followers, with their arms rattling. That animating rabble has now ceased. The chief has lost his formidable retinue, and the Highlander walks his heath, unarmed and defenceless, with the peaceable submission of a French peasant or an English cottager. —*Johnson's Journey*, Works, vol. viii. 315.

of them vaunt; but it might be ostentation: —however, I shall mention one in particular.

I happened to be at the house of a certain chief, when the chieftain of a tribe belonging to another clan came to make a visit; after talking of indifferent matters, I told him I thought some of his people had not behaved toward me, in a particular affair, with that civility I might have expected from the clan. He started; and immediately, with an air of fierceness, clapped his hand on his broad-sword, and told me, if I required it, he would send me two or three of their heads.

But I, really thinking he had been in jest, and had acted it well (as jesting is not their talent), laughed out, by way of approbation of his capacity for a joke; upon which he assumed, if possible, a yet more serious look, and told me peremptorily *he was a man of his word;* and the chief who sat by made no manner of objection to what he said.

The heritable power of *pit and gallows*, as they call it, which still is exercised by some within their proper districts, is, I think, too much for any particular subject to be entrusted withal. But it is said that any partiality or revenge of the chief, in his own cause, is obviated by the law, which does not allow himself to sit judicially, but obliges him to appoint a

substitute as judge in his courts, who is called the *baily of regality.**

I fear this is but a shadow of safety to the accused, if it may not appear to increase the danger of injustice and oppression; for to the orders and instructions of the chief may be added the private resentment of the baily, which may make up a double weight against the supposed criminal.

I have not, I must own, been accustomed to hear trials in these courts, but have been often told, that one of these bailies, in particular, seldom examines any but with raging words and rancour; and, if the answers made are not to his mind, he contradicts them by blows; and, one time, even to the knocking down of the poor wretch who was examined. Nay, further, I have heard say of him, by a very credible person, that a Highlander of a neighbouring clan, with whom his own had been long at variance, being to be brought before him, he declared upon the accusation, before he had seen the

* There were formerly courts of regality, where, by virtue of a royal jurisdiction invested in *the lord of the regality*, they had many immunities and privileges: these anciently belonged to the ecclesiastics, and were appropriated to such lands as they were possessed of in property and superiority. But, by a late act of parliament, all such regalities are abrogated, taken away, and totally dissolved and extinguished.—*Chamberlayne's History*, 1755. 108.

party accused, *that the very name should hang him.*

I have not mentioned this violent and arbitrary proceeding as though I knew or thought it usual in those courts, but to show how little mankind in general are to be trusted with a lawless power, to which there is no other check or control but good sense and humanity, which are not common enough to restrain every one who is invested with such power, as appears by this example.

The baily of regality, in many cases, takes upon him the same state as the chief himself would do;—as for one single instance:

When he travels, in time of snow, the inhabitants of one village must walk before him to make a path to the next; and so on to the end of his progress: and, in a dark night, they light him from one inhabited place to another, which are mostly far distant, by carrying blazing sticks of fir.

Formerly the power assumed by the chief in remote parts was perfectly despotic, of which I shall only mention what was told me by a near relation of a certain attainted lord, whose estate (that was) lies in the northern Highlands: but hold—this moment, upon recollection, I have resolved to add to it an example of the arbitrary proceeding of one much less powerful

than the chief, who nevertheless thought he might dispose of the lives of foreigners at his pleasure. As to the first,—the father of the late earl above-mentioned having a great desire to get a fellow apprehended, who was said to have been guilty of many atrocious crimes, set a price upon his head of one hundred and twenty crowns (a species of Scot's coin in those days), —I suppose about five-pence or six-pence, and, of his own authority, gave orders for taking him alive or dead; that the pursuers, thinking it dangerous to themselves to attempt the securing him alive, shot him, and brought his head and one of his hands to the chief, and immediately received the promised reward. The other is as follows:—

'I remember to have heard, a good while ago, that in the time when Prince George of Denmark was lord-high-admiral of England, some Scots gentlemen represented to him, that Scotland could furnish the navy with as good timber for masts and other uses as either Sweden or Norway could do, and at a much more reasonable rate.

This succeeded so far that two surveyors were sent to examine into the allegations of their memorial.

Those gentlemen came first to Edinburgh, where they staid some time to concert the rest

of their journey, and to learn from the inhabitants their opinion concerning the execution of their commission, among whom there was one gentleman that had some acquaintance with a certain chieftain in a very remote part of the Highlands, and he gave them a letter to him.

They arrived at the laird's house, declared the cause of their coming, and produced their credentials, which were a warrant and instructions from the prince; but the chieftain, after perusing them, told them he knew nothing of any such person. They then told him he was husband to Queen Anne; and he answered, he knew nothing of either of them; "But," says he, "there came hither, some time ago, such as you from Ireland, as spies upon the country, and we hear they have made their jests upon us among the Irish.

"Now," says he, "you shall have one hour; and if in that time you can give me no better account of yourselves than you have hitherto done, I'll hang you both upon that tree." Upon which his attendants showed great readiness to execute his orders: and, in this perplexity, he abruptly left them, without seeing the Edinburgh letter; for of that they made but little account, since the authority of the prince, and even the queen, were to him of no consequence: but afterwards, as they were walking backwards

and forwards in the garden counting the minutes, one of them resolved to try what the letter might do: this was agreed to by the other, as the last resort; but, in the hurry and confusion they were in, it was not for some time to be found, being worked into a corner of the bearer's usual pocket, and so he passed to another, &c.

Now the hour is expired, and the haughty chieftain enters the garden; and one of them gave him the letter: this he read, and then turning to them, said, "Why did not you produce this at first? If you had not had it, I should most certainly have hanged you both immediately."

The scene being thus changed, he took them into his house, gave them refreshment, and told them they might take a survey of his woods the next morning, or when they thought fit.

There is one chief who sticks at nothing to gratify his avarice or revenge.

This oppressor, upon the least offence or provocation, makes no conscience of hiring villains out of another clan, as he has done several times, to execute his diabolical purposes by hocking of cattle, burning of houses, and even to commit murder itself. Out of many enormities, I shall only mention two.

The first was,—that being offended, though very unreasonably, with a gentleman, even of

his own name and clan, he, by horrid commerce with one who governed another tribe in the absence of his chief, agreed with him for a parcel of assassins to murder his vassal, and bring him, his head, I suppose, as a voucher. The person devoted to death, happened to be absent the night the murderers came to his house, and therefore the villains resolved not to go away empty-handed, but to take his daugher's head in lieu of his own; which the poor creature perceiving, was frighted to such a degree, that she has not recovered her understanding to this day.

The servant-maid they abused with a dirk in a butcherly manner, too shameful to be described: to be short, the neighbours, though at some distance, hearing the cries and shrieks of the females, took the alarm, and the inhuman monsters made their escape.

The other violence related to a gentleman who lives near this town, and was appointed umpire in a litigated affair by the chief and the other party; and, because this laird thought he could not, with any colour of justice, decide in favour of the chief, his cattle, that were not far from his house, were some hocked and the rest of them killed; but the owner of them, as the other, was absent that night, in all probability suspecting (or have some private intelligence of) his

danger; and, when this horrid butchery was finished, the ruffians went to his house, and wantonly diverted themselves in telling the servants they had done their master a good piece of service, for they had saved him the expence of a butcher to kill his cattle: and I have been told, that the next morning there were seen a number of calves sucking at the dugs of the dead cows. But two of them were afterwards apprehended and executed.

These men (as is said of Coleman) were allured to secrecy while under condemnation, though sometimes inclined to confess their employer; and thus they continued to depend upon promises till the knot was tied; and then it was too late: but all manner of circumstances were too flagrant to admit a doubt concerning the first instigator of their wickedness; yet few of the neighbouring inhabitants dare to trust one another with their sentiments of it.

But here comes the finishing stroke to the first of these execrable pieces of workmanship.

Not long after the vile attempt, he who had furnished the murderers made a demand on the chief of a certain quantity of oatmeal, which was to be the price of the assassination; but, in answer, he was told, if he would send money, it might be had of a merchant with whom he (the chief) had frequent dealings; and as for

himself, he had but just enough for his own family till the next crop.

This shuffling refusal occasioned the threats of a law-suit; but the demander was told, the business had not been effectually performed; and besides, as he knew the consideration, he might commence his process, and declare it in a court as soon as ever he thought fit.

This last circumstance I did not, or perhaps could not, know till lately, when I was in that part of the Highlands from whence the villains were hired.*

I must again apologize, and say, I make no doubt you will take this account (as it is intended) to be a piece of historical justice done upon one who is lawless, and deserves much more, and not as a sample of a Highland chief, or the least imputation on any other of those gentlemen.

Yet truth obliges me to confess, that in some parts there remains among the natives a kind of Spanish or Italian inclination to revenge themselves, as it were, by proxy, of those who they think have injured them, or interfered with their interest. This I could not but infer, soon after my coming to the western parts of the High-

* These two stories seem but indifferently supported by evidence. Had they been true, how could the truth have been known?—who would have told it?

lands, from the saying of a youth, son of a laird in the neighbourhood.

He was telling me his father's estate had been much embarrassed, but, by a lucky hit, a part of it was redeemed. I was desirous to know by what means, and he proceeded to tell me there were two wadsets upon it, and both of the mortgagees had been in possession, each claiming a right to about half; but one of them being a native, and the other a stranger,—that is, not of the clan, the former had taken the latter aside, and told him if he did not immediately quit the country, he would hang him upon the next tree. "What!" says a Highlander who was born in the east, and went with me into those parts, "that would be the way to be hanged himself." "Out!" says the youth, "you talk as if you did not know your own country:—that would have been done, and nobody knew who did it." This he spoke with an air as if he had been talking of ordinary business, and was angry with the other for being ignorant of it, who afterwards owned that my presence was the cause of his objection.

Besides what I have recounted in this letter, which might serve as an indication that some, at least, of the ordinary Highlanders are not averse to the price of blood, I shall here take notice of a proposal of that kind which was made to myself.

Having given the preference to a certain clan in a profitable business, it brought upon me the resentment of the chieftain of a small neighbouring tribe, part of a clan at enmity with the former.

This gentleman thought his people had as much right to my favour in that particular as the others: the first instance of his revenge was a robbery committed by one of his tribe, whom I ordered to be *hounded out*, and he was taken. This fellow I resolved to prosecute to the utmost, which brought the chieftain to solicit me in his behalf.

He told me, for introduction, that it was not usual in the Hills for gentlemen to carry such matters to extremity, but rather to accept of a composition: and, finding their custom of compounding had no weight with me, he offered a restitution; but I was firmly resolved, *in terrorem*, to punish the thief.* Seeing this proposal was likewise ineffectual, he told me the man's wife was one of the prettiest young women in the Highlands, and if I would pardon the husband I should *have her*.

* In a simple state of society, a composition for theft, and even murder, has generally been thought sufficient satisfaction; an eye for an eye—a tooth for a tooth—*life* for *life*—but not the *life* of a *man* for that of a *sheep* or a *hen*. To hang a man for stealing a pewter pot worth eight-pence, from the door of a pot-house,

I told him that was an agreeable bribe, yet it could not prevail over the reasons I had to refer the affair to justice.

Some time after, a Highlander came privately to me, and, by my own interpreter, told me he heard I had a quarrel with the laird of ———, and if that was true, he thought *he had lived long enough;* but not readily apprehending his intention, I asked the meaning of that dubious expression, and was answered, he would kill him for me if I would encourage it. The proposal really surprised me; but soon recovering myself, I ordered him to be told, that I believed he was a trusty honest man, and if I had occasion for such service, I should employ him before any other, but it was the custom in my country, when two gentlemen had a quarrel, to go into the field and decide it between themselves.

At the interpretation of this last part of my speech, he shook his head and said, "What a foolish custom is that!"*

is what could never enter into the calculations of a Highlander, nor would he wonder that crimes abounded where such *laws* existed. The clan, whose honour was concerned in their relative not being hanged, paid the composition; but the offender was under their surveillance, and the fear of again dishonouring or offending them, was sure to prevent him from transgressing in the same way a second time.

* *Foolish* as the *custom* was, it was but too common among the Highlanders. Whether the drift of this wretch was to lay a

Perhaps this narration, as well as some others that have preceded, may be thought to consist of too many circumstances, and, consequently to be of an unnecessary length; but I hope there are none that do not, by that means, convey the knowledge of some custom or inclination of the people, which otherwise might have been omitted; besides, I am myself, as you know very well, an enemy to long stories.

Some of the Highland gentlemen are immoderate drinkers of usky,—even three or four quarts at a sitting; and, in general, the people that can pay the purchase, drink it without moderation.

Not long ago, four English officers took a fancy to try their strength in this bow of Ulysses, against the like number of the country champions, but the enemy came off victorious; and one of the officers was thrown into a fit of the gout, without hopes; another had a most dangerous fever, a third lost his skin and hair by the surfeit; and the last confessed to me, that when drunkenness and debate ran high, he took several opportunities to sham it.

They say, for excuse, the country requires a great deal; but I think they mistake a habit and

trap for our author, it is not easy to say: the only thing to be gathered from the story with any certainty is, that if he had not considered an Englishman as necessarily a very great miscreant, he never would have made such an overture to one.

custom for necessity. They likewise pretend it does not intoxicate in the Hills as it would do in the Low-country; but this I also doubt, by their own practice; for those among them who have any consideration, will hardly care so much as to refresh themselves with it, when they pass near the tops of the mountains; for, in that circumstance, they say it renders them careless, listless of the fatigue, and inclined to sit down, which might invite to sleep, and then they would be in danger to perish with the cold. I have been tempted to think this spirit has in it, by infusion, the seeds of anger, revenge, and murder (this I confess is a little too poetical); but those who drink of it to any degree of excess behave, for the most part, like true barbarians, I think much beyond the effect of other liquors. The collector of the customs at Stornway, in the isle of Lewis, told me, that about one hundred and twenty families drink yearly four thousand English gallons of this spirit and brandy together, although many of them are so poor they cannot afford to pay for much of either, which, you know, must increase the quantity drank by the rest; and that they frequently give to children of six or seven years old as much at a time as an ordinary wine glass would hold.

When they choose to qualify it for punch, they sometimes mix it with water and honey, or with

milk and honey; at other times the mixture is only the *aqua vitæ*, sugar, and butter; this they burn till the butter and sugar are dissolved.*

The air of the Highlands is pure, and consequently healthy; insomuch that I have known such cures done by it as might be thought next to miracles;—I mean in distempers of the lungs, as coughs, consumptions, &c.

And as I have mentioned the honey above, I shall here give that its due commendation: I think, then, it is in every respect as good as that of Minorca so much esteemed, and both, I suppose, are in a great measure produced from the bloom of the heath; for which reason, too, our Hampshire honey is more valued than any from other parts near London, because that county is mostly covered with heath.†

* See at the end of this letter.

† Welsh honey is, for the same reason, held in great estimation in England; but what is here said of Scotish honey, can hardly be applied to the Highlands, which are wet and stormy, and therefore unfavourable to the bee, who cannot venture out to forage, without the danger of being overtaken by such *sudden* gusts of wind, accompanied with heavy rain, as it can neither foresee nor withstand. It is not known how far the bee will go to find its favourite pasture, the heath blossom; but a gentleman in Aberdeenshire laid a wager that the bees of one of his neighbours, who lived nearly four miles off, came (as he knew by the

As the Lowlanders call their part of the country the land of cakes, so the natives of the Hills say they inhabit a land of milk and honey.

P. S. In the Low-country the cakes are called *cookies;* and the several species of them, of which there are many, though not much differing in quality one from another, are dignified and distinguished by the names of the reigning toasts, or the good housewife who was the inventor,—as for example, Lady Cullen's cookies, &c.

flavour of the honey) to feed on his moors, there being none nearer. To ascertain this, on a certain dry sunny day, he sent one to watch the hives, while he went to the heath with an elastic bellows puff-full of very fine hair-powder, with which he assailed every bee he saw feeding, and in the evening they returned white and mealy to the hive.

WHAT opinion their friends in the south had of their drinking, two hundred years ago, will appear from the following curious document, which will somewhat surprise our lovers of *claret* of the present day, and dispose them to think that the old times were not so bad as they are called:—

26 July, 1616.

"Forsamekle as the grite and extraordinar excesse in drinking of wyne commonlie vsit amangis the commonis and tennantis of the yllis is not onlie occasioun of the beastlie and barbarous cru-

elteis and inhumaniteis that fallis oute amangis thame to the offens and displesour of God, and contempt of law and justice; bot with that it drawis nomberis of thame to miserable necessitie and powertie, sua that thay ar constraynit quhen thay want of thair awne, to tak from thair nichtbouris; For remeid quhairof, the Lordis of Secreite Counsell Statutis and ordanis, That nane of the tennentis and commonis of the Yllis sall at ony tyme heirefter buy or drink ony wynes in the Ylles or continent nixt adjacent vnder the pane of tuenty pundis to be incurrit be every contravenare, *toties quoties*, &c."

The privy council, however, in their great wisdom, at last discovered, that it was of little use to command those descendants of Odin to refrain from drinking wine, as long as they could get any wine to drink; and, accordingly, on the 23d of July, 1622, they enacted as follows:—

"Forsamekle as it is vnderstand to the Lordis of Secreit Counsell, That one the cheif causis whilk procuris the continewance of the inhabitantis of the Ilis in thair barbarous and incivile forme of living, Is the grite quantitie of wynes yeirlie caryed to the Isles, with the vnsatiable desire quhairof the saidis inhabitantis ar sofer possessit, That quhen thair arryvis ony ship or other veshell thair with wynes, thay spend bothe dayis and nightis in thair excesse of drinking, and seldome do thay leave thair drinking so lang as thair is ony of the wyne restande; sua that, being overcome with drink, Thair fallis oute mony inconvenientis amangis thame, to the brek of his Majesties peace; And quhairas the Chiftanes and principallis of the clannis in the Ilis are actit to tak suche ordour with thair tennentis, as nane of thame be sufferrit to drink wynes; yitt so lang as thair is ony wynes caryed to the Ilis, thay will hardlie be withdrawne from thair evill custome of drinking, bot will follow the same and continew thairin, whensoevir they may find the occasioun;—For remeid quhairof in tyme comeing, The Lordis of Secreit Counsell Ordanis letters to be direct to command charge and inhibite all

and sundrie merchantis, skipparis and awnaris of shippis and vesshellis be oppin proclamatioun at all places neidfull; That nane of thame presoome nor tak vpoun hand to carrye and transporte ony wynes to the Ilis, nor to sell the same to the inhabitantis of the Ilis, except somekle as is allowed to the principall chiftanes and gentlemen of the Iles, vnder the pane of confiscatioun of the whole wynes so tobe caryed and sauld in the Ilis, aganis the tenour of this proclamatioun; or els of the availl and pryceis of the same to His Maiesties vse."

LETTER XXV.

In a former letter, I ventured to give it you as my opinion, that mankind in different countries are naturally the same. I shall now send you a short sketch of what I have observed in the conversation of an English fox-hunter and that of a Highland laird, supposing neither of them to have had a liberal and polite education, or to have been far out of their own countries.

The first of these characters is, I own, too trite to be given you—but this by way of comparison:

The squire is proud of his estate and affluence of fortune, loud and positive over his October, impatient of contradiction, or rather will give no opportunity for it, but whoops and halloos at every interval of his own talk, as if the company were to supply the absence of his hounds.

The particular characters of the pack, the various occurrences in a chase, where Jowler is the eternal hero, make the constant topic of his discourse, though, perhaps, none others are in-

terested in it; and his favourites, the trencher-hounds, if they please, may lie undisturbed upon chairs and counterpanes of silk; and, upon the least cry, though not hurt, his pity is excited more for them than if one of his children had broken a limb; and to that pity his anger succeeds, to the terror of the whole family.

The laird is national, vain of the number of his followers and his absolute command over them. In case of contradiction, he is loud and imperious, and even dangerous, being always attended by those who are bound to support his arbitrary sentiments.

The great antiquity of his family, and the heroic actions of his ancestors, in their conquest of enemy clans, is the inexhaustible theme of his conversation; and, being accustomed to dominion, he imagines himself, in his usky, to be a sovereign prince; and, as I said before, fancies he may dispose of heads at his pleasure.

Thus one of them places his vanity in his fortune, and his pleasure in his hounds; the other's pride is in his lineage, and his delight is command—both arbitrary in their way; and this the excess of liquor discovers in both; so that what little difference there is between them seems to arise from the accident of their

birth; and, if the exchange of countries had been made in their infancy, I make no doubt but each might have had the other's place, as they stand separately described in this letter.

On the contrary, in like manner, as we have many country gentlemen, merely such, of great humanity and agreeable (if not general) conversation; so in the Highlands I have met with some lairds, who surprised me with their good sense and polite behaviour, being so far removed from the more civilized part of the world, and considering the wildness of the country, which one would think was sufficient of itself to give a savage turn to a mind the most humane.

The isles to the north-west and to the north of the main land (if I may so speak of this our island) may not improperly be called Highlands; for they are mountainous, and the natives speak the language, follow the customs, and wear the habit of the Highlanders.

In some of the Western Islands (as well as in part of the Highlands), the people never rub out a greater quantity of oats than what is just necessary for seed against the following year; the rest they reserve in the sheaves, for their food; and, as they have occasion, set fire to some of them, not only to dry the oats, which, for the most part, are wet, but to burn off the husk. Then, by winnowing, they separate, as

well as they can, the sooty part from the grain; but as this cannot be done effectually, the *bannack*, or cake they make of it, is very black. Thus they deprive themselves of the use of straw, leaving none to thatch their huts, make their beds, or feed their cattle in the winter season.

They seldom burn and grind a greater quantity of these oats than serves for a day, except on a Saturday; when some will prepare a double portion, that they may have nothing to do on the Sunday following. This oatmeal is called *graydon meal.*

For grinding the oats, they have a machine they call a *quarn.** This is composed of two

* This simple mill seems to have been used by many rude nations. Some of them have been found in Yorkshire; and in the course of the southern Roman wall, between Solway Frith and the eastern sea, several have been dug up. The quarn is composed generally of grit, or granite, about twenty inches diameter. In the lower stone is a wooden peg, rounded at the top: on this the upper stone is so nicely balanced, that, though there is some friction from the contact of the two stones, yet a very small momentum will make it revolve several times when it has no corn in it. The corn being dried, two women sit down on the ground, having the quarn between them; the one feeds it, while the other turns it round, singing some Celtic song all the time. It would seem that the prophecy of Christ concerning the fate of two women grinding at a mill, refers to the quarn, which, it is probable, was the mill then in use.—*Garnett's Tour*, vol. i. 155.

This method of grinding is very tedious; for it employs two

stones; the undermost is about a foot and a half or two feet diameter. It is round, and five or six inches deep in the hollow, like an earthen pan. Within this they place another stone, pretty equal at the edge to that hollow. This last is flat, like a wooden pot-lid, about three or four inches thick, and in the centre of it is a pretty large round hole, which goes quite

pair of hands four hours, to grind only a single bushel of corn.—*Pennant's Scotland*, vol. iii. 324.

The *quern* is still used all over the north of Europe, where the women "sing as they grind their parched corn," just as they formerly did in Greece, and, indeed, every where else; and as they did in Rome in the days of Virgil,—if Virgil was the author of the "Moretum."

Fusus erat terra frumenti pauper acervus:
Hinc sibi depromit quantum mensura petebat,
Quæ bis in octonas excurrit pondere libras.
Inde abit, assistitque molæ, parvaque tabella,
Quam fixam paries illos servabat in usus,
Lumina fida locat: geminos tunc veste acertos
Liberat, et cinctus villosæ tergore capræ,
Percurrit cauda silices, gremiumque molarum.
Admovet inde manus operi, partitus utramque:
Læva ministerio, dextra est intenta labori.
Hæc rotat assiduis gyris, et concitat orbem.
Tunsa Ceres silicum rapido decurrit ab ictu.
Interdum fessæ succedit læva sorori,
Alternatque vices: modo rustica carmina cantat,
Agrestique suum solatur voce laborem.

Virg. Moretum.

Were the above lines a description of what the author had seen

through, whereby to convey the oats between the stones: there are also two or three holes in different places, near the extreme part of the surface, that go about half-way through the thickness, which is just deep enough to keep a stick in its place, by which, with the hand, they turn it round and round, till they have finished the operation. But in a wild part of Argyleshire, there was no bread of any kind till the discovery of some lead-mines, which brought strangers among the inhabitants; who before fed upon the milk of their cows, goats, and sheep. In summer they used to shake their milk in a vessel, till it was very frothy, which puffed them up, and satisfied them for the present; and their cheese served them instead of bread. The reason why they had no bread was, that there is hardly any arable land for a great space, all round about that part of the country.

I have been assured, that in some of the islands the meaner sort of people still retain

in the Highlands of Scotland, it could not be more exact. The term *graddan*, (pronounced *grattan*), as well as the art of grinding, probably came to the Highlands from the north, at a very early period. In *old* Norse, a quern was called *gratti*, from the *grey gritstone* of which it was made; hence the Scotish *grouts*; Eng *grits*; Germ. *grout*; Dan. *grytte*, to grind; and the Swedish *groet*, in Scotish, *crowdy*.

the custom of boiling their beef in the hide;* or otherwise (being destitute of vessels of metal or earth) they put water into a block of wood, made hollow by the help of the dirk and burning; and then with pretty large stones heated red-hot, and successively quenched in that vessel, they keep the water boiling till they have dressed their food. It is said, likewise, that they roast a fowl in the embers, with the guts and feathers; and when they think it done enough, they strip off the skin, and then think it fit for the table.

A gentleman of my acquaintance told me, that, in coming from Ireland to the Western

* In Monnipenny's Chronicle, 1597, we have the following passage:—"Their bankets are hunting and fishing. They seethe their flesh in the tripe, or else in the skin of the beast, filling the same full of water. Now and then, in hunting, they straine out the blood, and eate the flesh raw. Their drinke is the broth of sodden flesh. They love very well the drinke made of whey, and kept certayne yeares, drinking the same at feasts: it is named by them *blaudium* [*blathach*]. The most part of them drinke water. Their custome is to make their bread of oates and barly (which are the onely kindes of grayne that grow in those parts): experience (with time) hath taught them to make it in such sort that it is not unpleasant to eate. They take a little of it in the morning; and so, passing to the hunting or any other businesse, content themselves therewith, without any other kind of meat, till even.—*Lord Somers's Tracts*, vol. iii. 388.

They made only two meals in the day,—the *little* meal about noon, and the *great* meal towards evening.

Highlands, he was reduced, by an ague, to the necessity of landing upon the island Macormach; and, arriving at the public *change*, he observed three quarters of a cow to lie in a shallow part of the salt water, and the other quarter hanging up against the end of the hut; that, asking the reason of it, he was told they had no salt; and it was their way of preserving their beef.*

Some time after, the woman of the hut (or the *guid wife*) took a side of a calf that had been taken out of the cow, and, holding it by the legs, waved it backward and forward over the fire till part of it was roasted, as she thought, and then tore off one of the limbs, and offered it to him to eat. A tempting dish! especially for a sick stomach!

It is often said, that some of the lairds of those islands take upon them the state of monarchs; and thence their vassals have a great opinion of their power.

Among other stories told of them, there is one pretty well known in the north of Scotland, but whether true, or feigned as a ridicule upon them, I do not know. For, notwithstanding the Lowland Scots complain of the English for ridiculing other nations, yet they themselves

* We have seen the same thing done at sea, for preserving *fresh* meat.

have a great number of standing jokes upon the Highlanders.

They say a Spanish ship being stranded upon the coast of Barra (a very small island to the south of Lewes), the chief (M'Neil) called a council of his followers, which, I think, they say were about fifty in number, in order to determine what was to be done with her; that, in the course of the consultation, one of the members proposed, "If she was laden with wine and brandy, she should be confiscated as an illicit trader upon the coast, but if she was freighted with other merchandise, they should plunder her as a wreck."

Upon this, one of the council, more cautious than the rest, objected that the king of Spain might resent such treatment of his subjects; but the other replied, "We have nothing to do with that; M'Neil and the king of Spain will adjust that matter between themselves."*

As this is a cold country, the people endeavour to avail themselves of the condition of those who live in a more northern climate.

They tell you that some of the lairds in the islands of Shetland, which are far north of

* The M'Niels are from Norway, and their affectation of state has been a common subject of ridicule in the Highlands for some centuries back. All we have seen of them were remarkably well-grown, handsome-looking men.

the Orkneys, hire a domestic by the half-year, or by the quarter, just as they can agree, whose business it is to put an instrument in order when the laird has an inclination to play upon it; but if he attempts to play a tune himself, he is sure to be discarded.

Of this they give you an instance in a certain laird, who, observing his servant went farther toward an *air* than he ought to have done by agreement (perhaps vainly imagining he could play better than his master), he had warning to provide himself with another service against the next Martinmas, which was then about two months to come. And, although the man was not suspended, in the mean time, from the exercise of his function (because he was to be paid for the whole time), yet in all that interval no manner of intercession could prevail with the laird to continue him in his service beyond that quarter: —no, notwithstanding his own lady strongly solicited him in behalf of the poor unhappy offender; nor could she obtain so much as a certificate in his favour.*

Here you will say, all this must be a riddle;

* We do not think it probable, that ever there was a *Celtic* race of men *settled* in these islands. The inhabitants of Shetland and Orkney came, at different periods, from Norway. As in Iceland, each seized as much territory as he could stock and defend; but as these tenements were equally divided among the

and, indeed, so it is. But your friend Sir Alexander, or any other of your Scots acquaintance, can explain it to you much better over a bottle, or walking in St. James's Park, than I can do upon paper. They can likewise give you the title of the *Hireling*, which I have forgot; and, when all that is done, I dare venture to say, you will conclude there is no occasion for such an officer in any English family. And, for my own part, I really think there is as little need of him anywhere on this side the Tweed within the compass of the ocean.

We had the other day, in our coffee-room, an auction of books, if such trash, and so small a number of them, may go by that name.

One of them I purchased, which I do not remember to have ever heard of before, although it was published so long ago as the year 1703.

It is a description of the Western Islands of Scotland, and came extremely *à propos*, to prevent my saying any thing further concerning them.

I have nothing to object against the author's (Mr. Martin's) account of those isles, with

children of each possessor, from generation to generation, they at last became very insignificant, and were gradually bought up by settlers from the mainland of Scotland; so that there are now hardly any proprietors of land of the old stock to be found.

respect to their situation, mountains, lakes, rivers, caves, &c. For I confess I never was in any one of them, though I have seen several of them from the main land. But I must observe, that to furnish out his book with much of the *wonderful* (a quality necessary to all books of travels, and it would be happy if history were less tainted with it), he recounts a great variety of strange customs used by the natives (if ever in use) in days of yore, with many other wonders; among all which the *second sight* is the superlative.

This, he says, is a faculty, gift, or misfortune (for he mentions it under those three predicaments), whereby all those who are possessed of it, or by it, see the perfect images of absent objects, either human, brute, vegetable, artificial, &c. And if there be fifty other persons in the same place, those sights are invisible to them all: nor even are they seen by any one who has himself, at other times, the *second sight*, unless the person who has the faculty, at that instant, should touch him with design to communicate it to him.

It is not peculiar to adult persons, but is sometimes given to young children. Women have this supernatural sight, and even horses and cows. It is pity he does not tell us how those two kinds of cattle distinguish between

natural and preternatural appearances, so as to be fearless of the one and affrighted at the other, though seemingly the same; and how all this came to be known.

Upon this subject he employs six and thirty pages, *i. e.* a small part of them in recounting what kind of appearances forebode death, which of them are presages of marriage, &c. as though it were a settled system.

The remaining leaves are taken up in examples of such prophetic apparitions and the certainty of their events.

But I shall trouble you no further with so contemptible a subject, or myself with pointing out the marks of imposture, except to add one remark, which is, that this ridiculous notion has almost excluded another, altogether as weak and frivolous; for he mentions only two or three slight suspicions of *witchcraft*, but not one fact of that nature throughout his whole book. Yet both this and second sight are sprung from one and the same stock, which I suppose to be very ancient, as they are children of *credulity*, who was begotten by *superstition*, who was the offspring of *craft*;—but you must make out the next ancestor yourself, for his name is torn off from the pedigree, but I believe he was the founder of the family.

In looking upwards to what I have been writing, I have paused awhile to consider what it was that could induce me to detain you so long about this trifling matter; and at last I have resolved it into a love of truth, which is naturally communicative, and makes it painful to conceal the impositions of falsehood. But these islands are so remote and unfrequented, they are a very proper subject for invention; and few, I think, would have the curiosity to visit them, in order to disprove any account of them, however romantic.

I can make no other apology for the length of this detail, because I might have gone a much shorter way, by only mentioning the book, and hinting its character; and so leaving it to your choice, whether to take notice of it or reject it.

This letter will bring you the conclusion of our *correspondence*, so far as it relates to this part of our island; yet if any thing should happen hereafter that may be thought qualified to go upon its travels five hundred miles southward, it will be a pleasure to me to give it the necessary dispatch.

I have called it *correspondence*, from the remarks I have received from you upon such passages in my letters as gave you the occa-

sion: and I wish my subject would have enabled me to give you opportunities to increase their number.

Writers, you know, for the most part, have not been contented with any thing less than the characters and actions of those whom birth or fortune had set up to public view, or the policy or weakness of public councils; the order and event of battles, sieges, and such like, in great measure dressed up in habits cut out by themselves; but the genius of a people has been thought beneath their notice.

This, forsooth, is called supporting the dignity of history. Now, in this case, who shall condescend to give a detail of circumstances generally esteemed to be low, and therefore of little consequence, and at the same time escape the character of a trifler?

But I am unwarily fallen into an apology to you, and not as if I was writing *en confidence* to a friend, but openly to the whole kingdom.

For my own part (who have already lived too long to be dazzled with glittering appearances), I should be as well pleased to see a shepherd of Arcadia, free from poetical fiction, in his rustic behaviour and little economy, or a burgher of ancient Rome in his shop, as to know the character of a consul; for, in either case, it is the comparison of past ages, and foreign countries

opposed to our own, that excites my curiosity and gives me satisfaction.

As we are now about to settle our accounts to this time, I shall acknowledge (as every honest man would do) the value of an article which, it is likely, you make little account of, as the Indians are said to have done of their gold when they gave it away for baubles,—and that is, the agreeable amusement you have furnished me with, from time to time, concerning such passages as could not, for good reasons, be admitted to the public papers. This to one almost excluded the world may, in some measure, be said to restore him to his native home.

Upon the whole, when all the articles in your favour are brought to account, I think the balance will be on your side; and yet I make no doubt you would cheerfully go on to increase the debt, though I should become a bankrupt, and there did not remain to you the least expectation of payment from, &c.

LETTER XXVI.

Concerning the New Roads, &c. 173—

It is now about eight years since I sent you the conclusion of my rambling account of the Highlands; and, perhaps, you would not have complained if, in this long interval, you had been perfectly free of so barren a subject.

Monsieur Fontenelle, I remember, in one of his pastoral dialogues, makes a shepherd object to another—*Quoi! toujours de l'amour?* And I think you may as well ask—What! always Highlands? But, in my situation, without them, I should be in the sorrowful condition of an old woman in her country cottage, by a winter fire, and nobody would hearken to her tales of witches and spirits;—that is, to have little or nothing to say. But now I am a perfect volunteer, and cannot plead my former excuses, and really am without any apprehensions of being thought officious in giving you some account of the roads, which, within these few weeks, have been completely finished.

These new roads were begun in the year 1726, and have continued about eleven years in the prosecution; yet, long as it may be thought, if you were to pass over the whole work (for the borders of it would show you what it was), I make no doubt but that number of years would diminish in your imagination to a much shorter tract of time, by comparison with the difficulties that attended the execution.

But, before I proceed to any particular descriptions of them, I shall inform you how they lie, to the end that you may trace them out upon a map of Scotland; and first I shall take them as they are made, to enter the mountains, viz.

One of them begins from Crief, which is about fourteen miles from Stirling: here the Romans left off their works, of which some parts are visible to this day, particularly the camp at Ardoch, where the vestiges of the fortifications are on a moor so barren, that its whole form has been safe from culture, or other alteration besides weather and time.

The other road enters the hills at Dimheld, in Athol, which is about ten miles from Perth.

The first of them, according to my account, though the last in execution, proceeds through Glenalmond (which, for its narrowness, and the height of the mountains, I remember to have mentioned formerly), and thence it goes to

Aberfaldy; there it crosses the river Tay by a bridge of free-stone, consisting of five spacious arches (by the way, this military bridge is the only passage over that wild and dangerous river), and from thence the road goes on to Dalnachardoch.

The other road from Dunkeld proceeds by the Blair of Athol to the said Dalnachardoch.

Here the two roads join in one, and, as a single road, it leads on to Dalwhinny, where it branches out again into two; of which one proceeds toward the north-west, through Garva-Moor, and over the Coriarach mountain to Fort Augustus, at Killichumen, and the other branch goes due-north to the barrack of Ruthven, in Badenoch, and thence, by Delmagary, to Inverness. From thence it proceeds something to the southward of the west, across the island, to the aforesaid Fort-Augustus, and so on to Fort-William, in Lochaber.

The length of all these roads put together is about two hundred and fifty miles.

I have so lately mentioned Glenalmond, in the road from Crief, northward, that I cannot forbear a digression, though at my first setting out, in relation to a piece of antiquity which happened to be discovered in that vale not many hours before I passed through it in one of my journeys southward.

A small part of the way through this glen having been marked out by two rows of camp-colours, placed at a good distance one from another, whereby to describe the line of the intended breadth and regularity of the road by the eye, there happened to lie directly in the way an exceedingly large stone, and, as it had been made a rule from the beginning, to carry on the roads in straight lines, as far as the way would permit, not only to give them a better air, but to shorten the passenger's journey, it was resolved the stone should be removed, if possible, though otherwise the work might have been carried along on either side of it.

The soldiers, by vast labour, with their levers and jacks, or hand-screws, tumbled it over and over till they got it quite out of the way, although it was of such an enormous size that it might be matter of great wonder how it could ever be removed by human strength and art, especially to such who had never seen an operation of that kind: and, upon their digging a little way into that part of the ground where the centre of the base had stood, there was found a small cavity, about two feet square, which was guarded from the outward earth at the bottom, top, and sides, by square flat stones.

This hollow contained some ashes, scraps of bones, and half-burnt ends of stalks of heath;

which last we concluded to be a small remnant of a funeral pile. Upon the whole, I think there is no room to doubt but it was the urn of some considerable Roman officer, and the best of the kind that could be provided in their military circumstances; and that it was so seems plainly to appear from its vicinity to the Roman camp, the engines that must have been employed to remove that vast piece of a rock, and the unlikeliness it should, or could, have ever been done by the natives of the country. But certainly the design was, to preserve those remains from the injuries of rains and melting snows, and to prevent their being profaned by the sacrilegious hands of those they call Barbarians, for that reproachful name, you know, they gave to the people of almost all nations but their own.

Give me leave to finish this digression, which is grown already longer than I foresaw or intended.

As I returned the same way from the Lowlands, I found the officer, with his party of working soldiers, not far from the stone, and asked him what was become of the urn?*

* Many burying places, so designated and protected, have been discovered in other parts of Scotland, particularly one near Mortlach. There was here *no urn*, nor any thing else characteristic of *Roman* sepulture. When Stonehenge (the *hanging stones*), was raised in England, and the other stupendous stones and cir-

To this he answered, that he had intended to preserve it in the condition I left it, till the commander-in-chief had seen it, as a curiosity, but that it was not in his power so to do; for soon after the discovery was known to the Highlanders, they assembled from distant parts, and having formed themselves into a body, they carefully gathered up the relics, and marched with them, in solemn procession, to a new place of burial, and there discharged their fire-arms over the grave, as supposing the deceased had been a military officer.

You will believe the recital of all this ceremony led me to ask the reason of such homage done to the ashes of a person supposed to have been dead almost two thousand years. I did so; and the officer, who was himself a native of the Hills, told me that they (the Highlanders) firmly believe that if a dead body should be known to lie above ground, or be disinterred by malice, or the accidents of torrents of water, &c. and care was not immediately taken to perform to it the proper rites, then there would arise such storms and tempests as would destroy their corn,

cles in Wiltshire, &c. set up, *one great stone* might have been turned over by *Highlanders*. In a church-yard in Scotland, human bones are never seen thrown about, all are carefully buried, not from any superstitious impression, but, from a general sentiment, highly creditable to a serious, rational, and thinking people.

blow away their huts, and all sorts of other misfortunes would follow till that duty was performed. You may here recollect what I told you so long ago, of the great regard the Highlanders have for the remains of their dead; but this notion is entirely Roman.

But to return to my main purpose.—In the summer seasons, five hundred of the soldiers from the barracks, and other quarters about the Highlands, were employed in those works in different stations, by detachments from the regiments and Highland companies.

The private men were allowed sixpence a day, over and above their pay as soldiers: a corporal had eight-pence, and a serjeant a shilling; but this extra pay was only for working-days, which were often interrupted by violent storms of wind and rain, from the heights and hollows of the mountains.

These parties of men were under the command and direction of proper officers, who were all subalterns, and received two shillings and sixpence *per diem*, to defray their extraordinary expence in building huts; making necessary provision for their tables from distant parts; unavoidable though unwelcome visits, and other incidents arising from their wild situation.

I should have told you before, that the non-

commissioned officers were constant and immediate overseers of the works.

The standard breadth of these roads, as laid down at the first projection, is sixteen feet; but in some parts, where there were no very expensive difficulties, they are wider.

In those places (as I have said before), they are carried on in straight lines till some great necessity has turned them out of the way; the rest, which run along upon the declivities of hills, you know, must have their circuits, risings, and descents accordingly.

To stop and take a general view of the hills before you from an eminence, in some part where the eye penetrates far within the void spaces, the roads would appear to you in a kind of whimsical disorder; and as those parts of them that appear to you are of a very different colour from the heath that chiefly clothes the country, they may, by that contrast, be traced out to a considerable distance.

Now, let us suppose that where you are, the road is visible to you for a short space, and is then broken off to the sight by a hollow or winding among the hills; beyond that interruption, the eye catches a small part on the side of another hill, and some again on the ridge of it; in another place, further off, the road appears to run zigzag, in angles, up a steep declivity; in one place, a

short horizontal line shows itself below, in another, the marks of the road seem to be almost even with the clouds, &c.

It may here be objected, How can you see any part of the flat roof of a building, when you are below? The question would be just; but the edges of the roads on a precipice, and the broken parts of the face of the mountain behind, that has been wrought into to make room for the road,—these appear, and discover to them who are below the line of which I have been speaking.

Thus the eye catches one part of the road here, another there, in different lengths and positions; and, according to their distance, they are diminished and rendered fainter and fainter, by the lineal and aërial perspective, till they are entirely lost to sight. And I need not tell you, that, as you pursue your progress, the scene changes to new appearances.

The old ways (for roads I shall not call them) consisted chiefly of stony moors, bogs, rugged, rapid fords, declivities of hills, entangling woods, and giddy precipices. You will say this is a dreadful catalogue to be read to him that is about to take a Highland journey.

I have not mentioned the valleys, for they are few in number, far divided asunder, and generally the roads through them, were easily made.

My purpose now is to give you some account of the nature of the particular parts above-mentioned, and the manner how this extraordinary work has been executed; and this I shall do in the order I have ranged them as above.

And first, the stony moors. These are mostly tracts of ground of several miles in length, and often very high, with frequent lesser risings and descents, and having for surface a mixture of stones and heath. The stones are fixed in the earth, being very large and unequal, and generally are as deep in the ground as they appear above it; and where there are any spaces between the stones, there is a loose spongy sward, perhaps not above five or six inches deep, and incapable to produce any thing but heath, and all beneath it is hard gravel or rock.

I now begin to be apprehensive of your memory, lest it should point out some repetitions of descriptions contained in my former letters; but I have been thus particular, because I know the extent of your journeys, and that with you a morass is called a moor; yet hills that are something of this nature are called moors in the north of England.

Here the workmen first made room to fix their instruments, and then, by strength, and the help of those two mechanic powers, the screw and the lever, they raised out of their ancient

beds those massive bodies, and then filling up the cavities with gravel, set them up, mostly end-ways, along the sides of the road, as directions in time of deep snows, being some of them, as they now stand, eight or nine feet high. They serve, likewise, as memorials of the skill and labour requisite to the performance of so difficult a work.

In some particular spots, where there was a proper space beside the stones, the workmen dug hollows, and, by undermining, dropped them in, where they lie buried so securely, as never more to retard the traveller's journey; but it was thought a moot point, even where it was successful, whether any time or labour was saved by this practice; for those pits, for the most part, required to be made very deep and wide, and it could not be foreseen, without continual boring, whether there might not be rock above the necessary depth, which might be a disappointment after great labour.

The roads on these moors are now as smooth as Constitution-Hill, and I have gallopped on some of them for miles together in great tranquility; which was heightened by reflection on my former fatigue, when, for a great part of the way, I had been obliged to quit my horse, it being too dangerous or impracticable to ride, and even hazardous to pass on foot.

THE BOGS.

There are two species of them, viz. bogs, and those the natives call peat-mosses, which yield them their firing; many of the former are very large, and sometimes fill up the whole space between the feet of the mountains. They are mostly not much, if any thing, above the level of the sea; but I do not know that any part of the road is carried through them, or think it practicable; yet, as any description of them may be new to you, I shall stop awhile to give you some account of my *trotting* one of them, which is reckoned about a mile over.

My affairs engaging me to reside for some time among the hills, I resolved, and was preparing to make a distant visit; but was told that a hill, at the foot of which I lived, was, in the descent from it, exceeding steep and stony; I was therefore prevailed with to have my horses led a round-about way, and to meet me on the other side.

In lieu of that difficult way, I was to be ferried over a lake, and to traverse the bog above-mentioned, over which a Highlander undertook to conduct me; him I followed close at the heels, because I soon observed he used a step unlike to what he did upon firm ground, and which I could not presently imitate; and also

that he chose his way, here and there, as if he knew where was the least danger, although, at the same time, the surface of the part we were going over, seemed to me to be equally indifferent in respect to safety and danger.

Our weight and the spring of motion, in many parts, caused a shaking all round about us, and the compression made the water rise through the sward, which was, in some parts, a kind of short flaggy grass, and in others a sort of mossy heath; but wherever any rushes grew, I knew, by experience of the peat-mosses I had gone over before, that it was not far to the bottom.

This rising of water made me conclude (for my guide was not intelligible to me) that we had nothing but a liquid under us or, at most, something like a quicksand, and that the sward was only a little toughened by the entwining of the roots, and was supported, like ice, only by water, or something nearly as fluid.

I shall give you no particulars of my visit, further than that the laird treated me in a very handsome and plentiful manner, and, indeed, it was his interest so to do; but poor *poke-pudding* was so fatigued, and so apprehensive of danger on the bog, that he could not be persuaded to go back again the same way.

THE MOSSES.

Of these I formerly gave you some superficial account; but now that I am about to let you know how the roads were made through them, I shall examine them to the bottom. When I first saw them, I imagined they were formerly made when woods were common in the Hills; but, since, by several repeated laws, destroyed, to take away that shelter which assisted the Highlanders in their depredations;—I say, I have supposed the leaves of trees were driven by winds and lodged in their passage, from time to time, in those cavities till they were filled up. One thing, among others, that induced me to this belief is, that the muddy substance of them is much like the rotted leaves in our woods; but, since that time, I have been told, that, when one of them has been quite exhausted for fuel, it has grown again, and, in the course of twenty years, has been as fit to be dug for firing as before. This I can believe, because I have seen many small ones, far from any inhabitants, swelled above the surface of the ground that lies all round about them, and chiefly in the middle, so as to become a protuberance, and therefore by strangers the less suspected, though the deeper and more dangerous.

All beneath the turf is a spongy earth interwoven with a slender, fibrous vegetable, something like the smallest roots of a shrub, and these a little toughen it, and contribute to the making it good fuel; but, when they are quite, or near dug out, the pit is generally almost filled with water. This, I suppose, arises from springs, which may, for aught I know, have been the first occasion of these mosses, which are very deceitful, especially to those who are not accustomed to them, being mostly covered with heath, like the the rest of the country, and, in time of rains, become soft, and sometimes impassable on foot.

Now that I have no further occasion for any distinction, I shall call every soft place a bog, except there be occasion sometimes to vary the phrase.

When one of these bogs has crossed the way on a stony moor, there the loose ground has been dug out down to the gravel, or rock, and the hollow filled up in the manner following, viz.

First with a layer of large stones, then a smaller size, to fill up the gaps and raise the causeway higher; and, lastly, two, three, or more feet of gravel, to fill up the interstices of the small stones, and form a smooth and binding surface. This part of the road has a bank on each side, to separate it from a ditch, which is

made withoutside to receive the water from the bog, and, if the ground will allow it, to convey it by a trench to a slope, and thereby in some measure drain it.

In a rocky way, where no loose stones were to be found, if a bog intervened, and trees could be had at any portable distance, the road has been made solid by timber and fascines, crowned with gravel, dug out of the side of some hill.

This is durable; for the faggots and trees, lying continually in the moisture of the bog, will, instead of decaying, become extremely hard, as has been observed of trees that have been plunged into those sloughs, and lain there, in all probability, for many ages. This causeway has likewise a bank and a ditch for the purpose above-mentioned.

There is one bog I passed through (literally speaking), which is upon the declivity of a hill; there the mud has been dug away for a proper space, and thrown upon the bog on either side, and a passage made at the foot of a hill for the water to run down into a large cavity, insomuch, that, by continual draining, I rode, as it were, in a very shallow rivulet running down the hill upon a rock (which was made smooth by the workmen), with the sides of the bog high above me on both sides, like one of the hollow ways in England.

I must desire you will consider, that the foregoing descriptions, as well as these that are to follow, are, and will be, only specimens of the work; for it would be almost without end to give you all the particulars of so various and extensive a performance.

FORDS.

No remedy but bridges has been found for the inconveniencies and hazards of these rugged and rapid passages; for, when some of them, in the beginning, were cleared from the large, loose stones, the next inundation brought down others in their room, which else would have been stopped by the way, and some of those were of a much larger size than the stones that had been removed.

This was the case (among others) of a small river, which, however, was exceedingly dangerous to ford, and for that reason the first bridge was ordered to be built over it; but it gave me a lively idea how short is human foresight, especially in new projects and untried undertakings.

The spring of the arch was founded upon rocks, and it was elevated much above the highest water that had ever been known by the country-people; yet, some time after it was finished, there happened a sudden torrent from

the mountains, which brought down trees and pieces of rocks; and, by its being placed too near the issue of water from between two hills, though firmly built with stone, it was cropt off, not far beneath the crown of the arch, as if it had neither weight nor solidity.

DECLIVITIES.

By these I mean the sloping sides of the hills whereon the new roads are made.

The former ways along those slopes were only paths worn by the feet of the Highlanders and their little garrons. They ran along upwards and downwards, one above another, in such a manner as was found most convenient at the first tracing them out: this, I think, I have observed to you formerly.

To these narrow paths the passenger was confined (for there is seldom any choice of the way you would take in the Highlands) by the impassability of the hollows at the feet of the mountains; because those spaces, in some parts, are filled up with deep bogs, or fallen rocks, of which last I have seen many as big as a middling-house; and, looking up, have observed others, at an exceeding height, in some measure parted from the main rock, and threatening the crush of some of those below. In other parts there are lakes beneath, and

sometimes, where there are none, it was only by these paths you could ascend the hills, still proceeding round the sides of them from one to another.

There the new roads have been carried on in more regular curves than the old paths, and are dug into the hills, which are sloped away above them; and where any rocks have occurred in the performance, they have been bored and blown away with gunpowder.

Above the road are trenches made to receive rains, melting snows, and springs, which last are in many places continually issuing out of the sides of the hills, being drained away from large waters collected in lakes, and other cavities, above in the mountains.

From the above-mentioned trenches are proper channels made to convey the water down the hills; these are secured, by firm pavement, from being gulled by the stream; and in places that required it, there are stone walls built behind the road, to prevent the fall of earth or stones from the broken part of the declivity.

WOODS.

These are not only rare in the way of the new roads, but I have formerly given you some description of the inconvenience and danger of one of them, and therefore I shall only add, in

this place, that the trees, for the necessary space, have been cut down and grubbed up; their fibrous roots, that ran about upon the surface, destroyed; the boggy part removed; the rock smoothed, and the crannies firmly filled up; and all this in such a manner as to make of it a very commodious road.

STEEP ASCENTS.

As the heights, for the most part, are attained, as I have been saying, by going round the sides of the hills from one to another, the exceeding steep ascents are not very common in the ordinary passages; but where they are, the inconvenience and difficulties of them have been removed.

I shall only instance in one, which, indeed, is confessed to be the worst of them all. This is the Coriarack Mountain, before mentioned, which rises in the way that leads from Dalwhinny to Fort-Augustus. It is above a quarter of a mile of perpendicular height, and was passed by few besides the soldiery when the garrisons were changed, as being the nearest way from one of the barracks to another; and had it not been for the conveniency of that communication, this part of the new roads had never been thought of.

This mountain is so near the perpendicular

in some parts, that it was doubtful whether the passenger, after great labour, should get upwards, or return much quicker than he advanced.

The road over it, not to mention much roughness (which, I believe, you have had enough of by this time, and are likely to have more), is carried on upon the south declivity of the hill, by seventeen traverses, like the course of a ship when she is turning to windward, by angles still advancing higher and higher; yet little of it is to be seen below, by reason of flats, hollows, and windings that intercept the sight; and nothing could give you a general view of it, unless one could be supposed to be placed high above the mountain in the air. This is much unlike your hills in the south, that, in some convenient situation of the eye, are seen in one continued smooth slope from the bottom to the top.

Each of the above-mentioned angles is about seventy or eighty yards in length, except in a few places where the hill would not admit of all that extent.

These traverses upward, and the turnings of their extremities, are supported on the outside of the road by stone walls, from ten to fifteen feet in height.

Thus that steep ascent, which was so diffi-

cult to be attained, even by the foot-passenger, is rendered everywhere more easy for wheel-carriages than Highgate-Hill.

On the north side of this mountain, at a place named Snugburgh from its situation, there is a narrow pass between two exceeding high and steep hills. These are joined together by two arches, supported by walls, to take off the sharpness of the short descent, which otherwise could not have been practicable for the lightest wheel-carriage whatever, for it was difficult even for horse or man.

PRECIPICES.

I shall say nothing in this place of such of them as are any thing tolerable to the mind, in passing them over, though a false step might render them fatal, as there would be no stopping till dashed against the rocks. I shall only mention two that are the most terrible, which I have gone over several times, but always occasionally, not as the shortest way, or by choice, but to avoid extensive bogs, or swelling waters in time of rain, which I thought more dangerous in the other way.

One of these precipices is on the north side of the Murray Frith, where no roads have been made; the other is on a mountain southward of this town.

Both these, as I have said above, were useful upon occasion; but the latter is now rendered unnecessary, as the old round-about way is made smooth, and bridges built over the dangerous waters, and therefore nothing has been done to this precipice; nor, indeed, was it thought practicable to widen the path, by reason of the steepness of the side of the hill that rises above it.

I think the ordinary proverb was never more manifestly verified than it now is, in these two several ways: viz.—"That the farthest way about," &c. Yet, I make no doubt, the generality of the Highlanders will prefer the precipice to the gravel of the road and a greater number of steps.

Not far from this steep place I once baited my horses with oats, carried with me, and laid upon the snow in the month of July; and, indeed, it is there (instead of rain) snow or sleet all the year round.

Thus far I have, chiefly in general terms, described the difficulties that attended the making new roads, and the methods taken to surmount them, which was all I at first intended; but as some of the greatest obstacles, which yet remain undescribed, were met with in the way between this town and Fort-William, I shall, previous to any account of them,

endeavour to give you some idea of this passage between the mountains, wherein lies no small part of the roads; and this I shall the rather do, because that hollow, for length and figure, is unlike any thing of the kind I have seen in other parts of the Highlands; and I hope to accomplish all I have to say of it before I leave this town, being very shortly to make a northern progress among the hills, wherein I shall find none of those conveniencies we now have on this side the Murray Frith.

This opening would be a surprising prospect to such as never have seen a high country, being a mixture of mountains, waters, heath, rocks, precipices, and scattered trees; and that for so long an extent, in which the eye is confined within the space; and, therefore, if I should pretend to give you a full idea of it, I should put myself in the place of one that has had a strange preposterous dream, and, because it has made a strong impression on him, he fondly thinks he can convey it to others in the same likeness as it remains painted on his memory; and, in the end, wonders at the coldness with which it was received.

This chasm begins about four miles west of Inverness, and, running across the island, divides the northern from the southern Highlands. It is chiefly taken up by lakes, bounded on

both sides by high mountains, which almost everywhere (being very steep at the feet) run down exceedingly deep into the water. The first of the lakes, beginning from the east, is Loch-Ness, which I have formerly mentioned. It lies in a line along the middle of it, as direct as an artificial canal. This I have observed myself, from a rising ground at the east end, by directing a small telescope to Fort-Augustus, at the other extreme.

I have said it is straight by the middle only, because the sides are irregular, being so made by the jutting of the feet of the hills into the water on either side, as well as by the spaces between them; and the various breadths of different parts of the lake.

The depth, the nature of the water, and the remarkable cataracts on the south side, have been occasionally mentioned in former letters; and I think I have told you, it is one-and-twenty Scots miles in length, and from one to near two miles in breadth.

It has hardly any perceptible current, notwithstanding it receives a vast conflux of waters from the bordering mountains, by rivers and rivulets that discharge themselves into it; yet all the water that visibly runs from it, in the greatest rains, is limited in its course by the river Ness, by which it has its issue into the

sea, and that river is not, in some places, above twenty yards wide; and therefore I think the greatest part of the superfluity must be drained away by subterraneous passages.

I have told you long ago, that it never freezes in the calmest and severest frost; and by its depth (being in some parts 360 yards), and by its breadth, and the violent winds that pass through the opening, it often has a swell not much inferior to the ocean.

In several parts on the sides of the lake, you see rocks of a kind of coarse black marble, and I think as hard as the best; these rise to a considerable height, which never, till lately, were trod by human foot; for the old way made a considerable circuit from this lake, and did not come to it but at the west end. In other places are woods upon the steep declivities, which serve to abate the deformitiy of those parts;—I say abate, for the trees being, as I said above, confusedly scattered one above another, they do not hide them. All the rest is heath and rock.

Some time ago there was a vessel, of about five-and-twenty or thirty tons burden, built at the east end of this lake, and called the Highland Galley.

She carries six or eight pattereroes, and is employed to transport men, provision, and

baggage to Fort-Augustus, at the other end of the lake.

The master has an appointment from the government, to navigate this vessel, and to keep her in repair.

When she made her first trip she was mightily adorned with colours, and fired her guns several times, which was a strange sight to the Highlanders, who had never seen the like before;—at least, on that inland lake.

For my own part, I was not less amused with the sight of a good number of Highland-men and women upon the highest part of a mountain over-against us;—I mean the highest that appeared to our view.

These people, I suppose, were brought to the precipice, from some flat behind, by the report of the guns (for even a single voice is understood at an incredible height); and, as they stood, they appeared to the naked eye not to be a foot high in stature; but, by the assistance of a pretty long glass, I could plainly see their surprise and admiration. And I must confess I wondered not much less to see so many people on such a monstrous height, who could not inhabit there in winter, till I reflected it was the time of the year for them to go up to their sheelings. And I was told that they, like

us, were not far from a spacious lake, though in that elevated situation.

I need not trouble you with a description of the other two waters and their boundaries, there being but little difference between them and the former; only here the old ways, such as they were, ran along upon the sides of the hills, which were in a great measure rocky precipices, and that these lakes are not quite so wide, and incline a little more to the southward of the west than the other.

The next lake to Loch-Ness (which, as I have said, is twenty-one miles in length) is Loch Oich; this is four miles long; and Loch Lochy, the last of the three, is nine, in all thirty-four miles, part of the forty-eight, which is the whole length of the opening, and at the end thereof is Fort-William, on the west coast, to which the sea flows, as it does likewise to Inverness on the east. Thus the whole extent of ground, between sea and sea, is fourteen miles.

Here I must stop a little to acquaint you with a spot of ground which I take to be something remarkable. This I had passed over several times without observing any thing extraordinary in it, and, perhaps, should never have taken notice of it, if it had not been pointed out to me by one of the natives.

About the middle of the neck of land that divides the lakes Oich and Lochy (which is but one mile), not far from the centre of the opening, there descends from the hills, on the south side, a bourn, or rivulet, which, as it falls upon the plain, divides into two streams without any visible ridge to part them; and one of them runs through the lakes Oich and Ness into the east sea, and the other takes the quite contrary course, and passes through Loch Lochy into the western ocean.

This, and the short space of land above-mentioned, have given birth to several projects for making a navigable communication across the island, not only to divide effectually the Highlands by the middle, but to save the tedious, costly, and hazardous voyages through St. George's Channel, or otherwise round by the Isles of Orkney.

This spot, the projectors say, is a level between the two seas, pointed out as it were by the hand of nature, and they pretend the space of land to be cut through is practicable.

But it would be an incredible expence to cut fourteen navigable miles in so rocky a country, and there is yet a stronger objection, which is, that the whole opening lies in so direct a line, and the mountains that bound it are so high, the wind is confined in its passage, as it were, in

the nozle of a pair of bellows; so that, let it blow from what quarter it will without the opening, it never varies much from east or west within.

This would render the navigation so precarious that hardly anybody would venture on it, not to mention the violent flurries of wind that rush upon the lakes by squalls from the spaces between the hills, and also the rocky shores, want of harbour and anchorage; and, perhaps, there might appear other unforeseen inconveniencies and dangers, if it were possible the work could be completed.*

There are three garrisons in this line, which reaches from east to west, viz. Fort-George, at Inverness, Fort-Augustus, at Killichumen, and Fort-William, in Lochaber, and every one of them pretty equally distant from one another; and the line might be made yet more effectual by redoubts, at proper distances between them, to prevent the sudden joining of numbers ill affected to the government.

Having given you some account of this chasm, I shall, in the next place, say something of the road that lies quite through it, together with some difficulties that attended the work, of which all that part which runs along near the

* The work will soon be completed, but it is to be feared that our author's observations will be found to be too just, as to the precariousness of the navigation.

edges of the lakes is on the south side; but, as I have already bestowed so many words upon subjects partly like this, I shall confine myself to very few particulars; and of the rest, which may come under those former descriptions, I need say no more, if I have been intelligible.

I shall begin with that road which goes along above Loch-Ness.

This is entirely new, as I have hinted before; and, indeed, I might say the same of every part; but I mean there was no way at all along the edge of this lake till this part of the road was made.

It is, good part of it, made out of rocks; but, among them all, I shall mention but one, which is of a great length, and, as I have said before, as hard as marble.

There the miners hung by ropes from the precipice over the water (like Shakespear's gatherers of samphire from Dover Cliffs) to bore the stone, in order to blow away a necessary part from the face of it, and the rest likewise was chiefly done by gunpowder; but, when any part was fit to be left as it was, being flat and smooth, it was brought to a roughness proper for a stay to the feet; and, in this part, and all the rest of the road, where the precipices were like to give horror or uneasiness to such as might pass over them in carriages, though at

a good distance from them, they are secured to the lake-side by walls, either left in the working, or built up with stone, to a height proportioned to the occasion.

Now, for the space of twelve miles, it is an even terrace in every part, from whence the lake may be seen from end to end, and from whence the romantic prospect of the rugged mountains would, I dare say, for its novelty, be more entertaining to you than it is to me;—I say, it might be agreeable to you, who, not having these hideous productions of nature near you, wantonly procure even bad imitations of them, in little artificial rocks and diminutive cataracts of water. But as some painters travel to Italy, in order to study or copy the most admirable performances of the great masters, for their own instruction, so I would advise your artisans, in that way, to visit this country for their better information.

The next part of this road which I am about to speak of, is that which lies along the side of the hills, arising from the edge of Loch-Oich.

The dangers of this part of the old way began at the top of a steep ascent, of about fifty or sixty yards from the little plain that parts this lake and Loch-Ness; and, not far from the summit, is a part they call the *Maiden's-Leap*, of which they tell a strange romantic story, not

orth the remembrance. There the rocks project over the lake, and the path was so rugged and narrow that the Highlanders were obliged, for their safety, to hold by the rocks and shrubs as they passed, with the prospect of death beneath them.

This was not the only dangerous part; but for three miles together, part of the four (which I have said is the length of this lake), it was nowhere safe, and in many places more difficult, and as dangerous, as at the entrance; for the rocks were so steep and uneven, that the passenger was obliged to creep on his hands and knees.

These precipices were so formidable to some that they chose rather to cross the plain abovementioned, and wade a river on the opposite side of the opening, which by others was thought more hazardous in its kind than the way which their fear excited them to avoid; and when they had passed that water, they had a wide circuit to make among steep and rugged hills, before they could get again into the way they were to go.

The last part of the road along the lakes (as I have divided it into three) runs along on the declivities of Loch Lochy, and reaches the whole length of that lake, which, as I have said before, is nine miles.

This was much of the same nature as the last,

exceeding steep, with rocks in several places hanging over the water, and required a great quantity of gunpowder; but, both this and the other two are now as commodious as any other of the roads in the Highlands, which everywhere (bating ups and downs) are equal in goodness to the best in England.

I shall say nothing of the way from the end of this lake to Fort-William, any more than I have done of the road from Inverness to Loch-Ness, or the spaces between the lakes, because they may be comprehended in the ordinary difficulties already described.

But I might acquaint you with many other obstacles which were thought, at first, to be insurmountable; such as Slock-Moach, between Ruthven and Inverness, the rocky pass of Killicranky, in Athol, between Dunkeld and the Blair, &c.

I shall only say, that I have formerly given you some description of the first, but without a name, in the account of an incursion I made to the Hills from Inverness; but, both this and the other, which were very bad, are now made easily passable.

The name of Slock-Moach is interpreted by the natives, a *den of hogs*, having been, as they say it was formerly, a noted harbour for thieves; who, in numbers, lay in wait within that narrow

and deep cavity, to commit their depredations upon cattle and passengers. I suppose this name was given to it when swine were held in abomination among the Highlanders.

The first design of removing a vast fallen piece of a rock was entertained by the country people with great derision, of which I saw one instance myself.

A very old wrinkled Highland woman, upon such an occasion, standing over-against me, when the soldiers were fixing their engines, seemed to sneer at it, and said something to an officer of one of the Highland companies. I imagined she was making a jest of the undertaking, and asked the officer what she said. "I will tell you her words," said he:

"What are the fools a-doing? That stone will lie there for ever, for all them." But when she saw that vast bulk begin to rise, though by slow degrees, she set up a hideous Irish yell, took to her heels, ran up the side of a hill just by, like a young girl, and never looked behind her while she was within our sight. I make no doubt she thought it was magic, and the workmen warlocks.

This, indeed, was the effect of an old woman's ignorance and superstition; but a gentleman, esteemed for his good understanding, when he

had seen the experiment of the first rock above Loch-Ness, said to the officer that directed the work, "When first I heard of this undertaking, I was strangely scandalised to think how shamefully you would come off; but now I am convinced there is nothing can stand before you and gunpowder."

Notwithstanding there may be no remains of my former letters, I believe your memory may help you to reflect what wretched lodging there was in the Highlands when those epistles were written. This evil is now remedied, as far as could be done; and in that road, where there were none but huts of turf for a hundred miles together, there now are houses with chimneys, built with stone and lime, and ten or twelve miles distance one from another; and though they are not large, yet are they well enough adapted to the occasion of travellers, who are seldom many at a time in that country. But I would not be understood that there is any better accommodation than before, besides warm lodging. Another thing is, there are pillars set up at the end of every five miles, mostly upon eminences, which may not only amuse the passenger and lessen the tediousness of the way, but prevent his being deceived in point of time, in rain, snow, drift, or approaching night.

But the last, and I think the greatest conveniency, is the bridges, which prevent the dangers of the terrible fords.

Of these I shall say but little, because to you they are no novelty. They are forty in number; some of them single arches, of forty or fifty feet diameter, mostly founded upon rocks; others are composed of two; one of three, and one of five, arches. This last is over the Tay, and is the only bridge upon that wild river, as has been said before. It is built with Astler-stone, and is 370 feet in length. The middle arch is sixty feet diameter, and it bears the following inscription, made Latin from English, as I have been told, by Dr. Friend, master of Westminster school:—

Mirare
Viam hanc Militarem
Ultra Romanos Terminos
M. Passuum CCL. *hac illac extensam*
Tesquis et Paludibus insultantem
Per Rupes Montesque patefactam
Et indignanti Tavo
Ut cernis instratam
Opus hoc arduum suâ solertiâ
Et decennali Militum Operâ
Anno Ær. Christæ 1733, *perfecit* G. Wade.*
Copiarum in Scotia *Præfectus.*
Ecce quantum valeant
Regia Georgii *Secundi Auspicia.*

* To perpetuate the memory of the Marshal's chief exploit,

The objections made to these new roads and bridges, by some in the several degrees of *condition* among the Highlanders, are in part as follow: viz.—

I. Those chiefs and other gentlemen complain, that thereby an easy passage is opened into their country for strangers, who, in time, by their suggestions of liberty, will destroy or weaken that attachment of their vassals which it is so necessary for them to support and preserve.

That their fastnesses being laid open, they are deprived of that security from invasion which they formerly enjoyed.

That the bridges, in particular, will render the ordinary people effeminate, and less fit to pass the waters in other places where there are none.

And there is a pecuniary reason concealed, relating to some foreign courts, which to you I need not explain.

II. The middling order say the roads are to them an inconvenience, instead of being useful, as they have turned them out of their old ways;

in making the road from Inverness to Inveraray, an obelisk is erected near Fort-William, on which the traveller is reminded of his merits by the following naive couplet:—

" Had you *seen these roads before they were made*,
" You would hold up your hands, and bless General Wade!!!"

for their horses being never shod, the gravel would soon whet away their hoofs, so as to render them unserviceable: whereas the rocks and moor-stones, though together they make a rough way, yet, considered separately, they are generally pretty smooth on the surface where they tread, and the heath is always easy to their feet. To this I have been inconsiderately asked, "Why then do they not shoe their horses?"

This question is easily put, and costs nothing but a few various sounds. But where is the iron, the forge, the farrier, the people within a reasonable distance to maintain him? And lastly, where is the principal requisite—money?*

III. The lowest class, who, many of them, at some times cannot compass a pair of shoes for themselves, they alledge, that the gravel is intolerable to their naked feet; and the complaint has extended to their thin *brogues*.

It is true they do sometimes, for these rea-

* The difficulties here enumerated are sufficiently appalling; yet there is still one trifling one which has been omitted. Work-horses were only *occasionally* wanted, and the *shoes* which saved their feet *on the roads* must have been *taken off every night*, before they were turned out to grass on the mountains, unless the owners wished to find them, in the morning, either bogged or with their bones broken!

sons, go without the road, and ride or walk in very incommodious ways. This has induced some of our countrymen, especially such as have been at Minorca (where roads of this kind have likewise been made), to accuse the Highlanders of Spanish obstinacy, in refusing to make use of so great a conveniency, purely because it is a novelty introduced by the English. But why do the black cattle do the same thing? Certainly for the ease of their feet.

Nor can I believe that either Highlanders or Spaniards are such fools as to deprive themselves of any considerable benefit upon a principle so ridiculous. But I fear it is our own pride that suggests such contemptuous thoughts of strangers. I have seen a great deal of it, and have often thought of Lochart's accusation, in a book that goes under the name of his Memoirs, where he says—"The English despise all nations but their own, for which all the world hates them;" or to that purpose. But whether his observation be just or not, it is in the breast of every one to determine for himself. For my own part, ever since I have known the Highlands, I never doubted but the natives had their share of natural understanding with the rest of mankind.

Notwithstanding I have finished my account of the roads, which was all I at first intended,

and although this letter is almost grown into a a volume, yet, like other great talkers, I cannot conclude it with satisfaction to myself till I have told my tale quite out.

Fort-Augustus, at Killichumen, is not only near the middle of the opening of which I have said so much, but is likewise reckoned to be the most centrical point of the habitable part of the Highlands.

The old barrack was built in the year 1716; I need not tell you upon what occasion. It stands upon a rising ground, at about two or three hundred yards distance from the head of Loch-Ness, and the new fort is just upon the border of that water. Before there was any great progress made in building that fortress, it was proposed to make a covered way of communication between both, and that it should be the principal garrison of the Highlands, and the residence of a governor, who was likewise to command the other two in that line, viz. Fort-George, at Inverness, and Fort-William, in Lochabar, which two last were to be under the command of lieutenant-governors; this was the military scheme. But, besides, there was a civil project on foot, which was to build a town after the English manner, and procure for it all the privileges and immunities of a royal borough in Scotland.

These advantages, it was said, would invite inhabitants to settle there, not only from the Lowlands, but even from England, and make it the principal mart of the Highlands, by which means the natives would be drawn thither as to the centre; and by accustoming themselves to strangers, grow desirous of a more commodious way of living than their own, and be enabled by traffic to maintain it. And thus (it was said) they would be weaned from their barbarous customs. But surely this scheme was as *wild* as the Highlanders whom it was proposed to *tame* by it; yet it was entertained for some months with fondness. But anger blinds and deceives the judgment by the promised sweets of revenge, as avarice does by the pleasing thoughts of gain, though unlawful. And I think I may premise to what I am about to say, that successful revenge is wicked; but an impotent desire of it is not only wicked, but ridiculous. Perhaps you will say I moralize, and you do not yet see the application; but you will hardly believe that this Utopian town had no other foundation than a pique against two or three of the magistrates of Inverness, for whose transgression their town was to be humbled by this contrivance.

I shall wave all considerations of the intent to punish a whole community upon a prejudice taken against two or three of them, and only

show you how improbable the success of such an undertaking would have been: and if it had been likely, how distant the prospect of the pleasure proposed by it.

A town of any manner of consideration would take up all, or most part of the country (for so the Highlanders call every little arable flat that lies between the mountains); and the place is not above five-and-twenty miles (including the lake) from Inverness, which is a sea-port town, and well situated for improvement of foreign trade and home manufactures. But the inner parts of the Highlands will not admit even of manufactories; for the inhabitants are few that can be spared from their farms, which, though they are but small, are absolutely necessary to life; and they are scattered among the hills at great distances, and the habitable spaces are generally not large enough to contain any considerable number of people, or the whole country within reach all round about, sufficient to furnish them with necessary provisions. And lastly, strangers will not be admitted among the clans.

By the way, I have been told the Welsh are not much less averse than the Highlanders to any settlement of strangers among them, though extremely hospitable to visitants, and such

had seen the experiment of the first rock above Loch-Ness, said to the officer that directed the work, "When first I heard of this undertaking, I was strangely scandalised to think how shamefully you would come off; but now I am convinced there is nothing can stand before you and gunpowder."

Notwithstanding there may be no remains of my former letters, I believe your memory may help you to reflect what wretched lodging there was in the Highlands when those epistles were written. This evil is now remedied, as far as could be done; and in that road, where there were none but huts of turf for a hundred miles together, there now are houses with chimneys, built with stone and lime, and ten or twelve miles distance one from another; and though they are not large, yet are they well enough adapted to the occasion of travellers, who are seldom many at a time in that country. But I would not be understood that there is any better accommodation than before, besides warm lodging. Another thing is, there are pillars set up at the end of every five miles, mostly upon eminences, which may not only amuse the passenger and lessen the tediousness of the way, but prevent his being deceived in point of time, in rain, snow, drift, or approaching night.

must have been required to people this new colony, and to render it capable to rival an old established town like Inverness: I need not recite the proverb of the growing grass; it is too obvious.

Yet if the inhabitants of the new settlement proposed, could have lived upon air, I verily believe they would have been fed with better diet than at Montpelier.

Thus am I providing work for myself, but am not so sure it will be entertainment to you; for now I have happened to speak of the healthfulness of the spot, I must tell you whereupon I found my opinion.

The officers and soldiers garrisoned in that barrack, for many successions have found it to be so; and several of them who were fallen into a valetudinary state in other parts, have there recovered their health in a short time. Among other instances, I shall give you only one, which I thought almost a miracle.

A certain officer of the army, when in London, was advised by his physicians to go into the country for better air, as you know is customary with them, when mere shame deters them from taking further fees; and likewise that the patient may be hid under ground, out of the reach of all reflecting observation within the circuit of their practice. But the corps he belonged to

being then quartered in the Highlands, he resolved, by gentle journeys, to endeavour to reach it, but expected (as he told me) nothing but death by the way; however he came to that place one evening, unknown to me, though I was then in the barrack, and the next morning early I saw upon the parade, a stranger, which is there an unusual sight. He was in a deep consumption, sadly emaciated, and with despair in his countenance, surveying the tops of the mountains. I went to him; and after a few words of welcome, &c. his uppermost thoughts became audible in a moment. "Lord!" says he, "to what a place am I come? There can nothing but death be expected here!" I own I had conceived a good opinion of that part of the country, and, therefore, as well as in common complaisance, should in course have given him some encouragement: but I do not know how it was; I happened at that instant to be, as it were, inspired with a confidence not ordinary with me, and told him peremptorily and positively the country would cure him; and repeated it several times, as if I knew it would be so. How ready is hope with her asistance! Immediately I observed his features to clear up, like the day, when the sun begins to peep over the edge of a cloud.

To be short: he mended daily in his health,

grew perfectly well in a little time, obtained leave to return to England, and soon after married a woman with a considerable fortune.

I know so well your opinion of the doctor's skill, that, if I should tell you there was not a physician in the country, you would say it was that very want which made the air so healthy, and was the cause of that wonderful cure.

This poor but wholesome spot reminds me of a quack that mounted a stage in Westminster, but was there very unsuccessful in the sale of his packets. At the end of his harangue he told his mob-audience (among whom, being but a boy, myself was one), that he should immediately truss up his baggage and be gone, because he found they had no occasion for physic; "For," says he, you live in an air so healthy, that where one of you dies, there are twenty that run away."

But to proceed to a conclusion, which I foresee is not far off.

At Fort-William, which is not above three or four and twenty miles westward of Fort-Augustus, I have heard the people talk as familiarly of a shower (as they call it) of nine or ten weeks, as they would do of any thing else that was not out of the ordinary course; but the clouds that are brought over-sea by the westerly winds are there attracted and broke

by the exceedingly high mountains, and mostly exhausted before they reach the middle of the Highlands at Fort-Augustus; and nothing has been more common with us about Inverness, on the east coast, than to ride or walk to recreate ourselves in sunshine, when we could clearly see through the opening, for weeks together, the west side of the island involved in thick clouds. This was often the occasion of a *good-natured* triumph with us to observe what a *pickle* our opposite neighbours were in; but I am told the difference in that particular, between the east and western part of England, near the coast, is much the same in proportion to the height of the hills.

I have but one thing more to take notice of in relation to the spot of which I have been so long speaking, and that is, I have been sometimes vexed with a little plague (if I may use the expression), but do not you think I am too grave upon the subject; there are great swarms of little flies which the natives call *malhoulakins: houlack*, they tell me, signifies, in the country language, a *fly*, and *houlakin* is the diminutive of that name.* These are so very small, that, separately, they are but just perceptible and that is all; and, being of a blackish colour,

* *Cuileag*, in Gaëlic, means *a fly*, and is itself a diminutive; *cuileagin* is the plural of *cuileag*.

when a number of them settle upon the skin, they make it look as if it was dirty; there they soon bore with their little augers into the pores, and change the face from black to red.

They are only troublesome (I should say intolerable) in summer, when there is a profound calm; for the least breath of wind immediately disperses them; and the only refuge from them is the house, into which I never knew them to enter. Sometimes, when I have been talking to any one, I have (though with the utmost self-denial) endured their stings to watch his face, and see how long they would suffer him to be quiet; but, in three or four seconds, he has slapped his hand upon his face, and in great wrath cursed the little vermin: but I have found the same torment in some other parts of the Highlands where woods were at no great distance.

Here I might say, if it did not something savour of a pun, that I have related to you the most *minute* circumstances of this long and straight *opening* of the mountains.

As my former letters relating to this country were the effect of your choice, I could then apologize for them with a tolerable grace; but now that I have obtruded myself upon you, without so much as asking your consent, or giving you the least notice, I have divested myself of that

advantage, and therefore I shall take the quite contrary course, and boldly justify myself in what I have done. You know there is no other rule to judge of the quality of many things but by comparison; and this being of that nature, I do affirm with the last confidence (for I have not been here so long for nothing), that the following subjects are inferior to mine either for information or entertainment, viz.

1st. The genealogy of a particular family, in which but very few others are interested; and, by the bye, for you know I am apt to digress, it must be great good-nature and Christian charity to suppose it impossible that any one of the *auxiliary sex* should step out of the way to the *aid* of some other in the many successions of five hundred years; and, if that should happen, I would know what *relation* there then is between him that boasts of his ancestry and the founder of the family; certainly none but the estate; and, if that which is the main prop should fail, the high family would soon tumble from it eminence; but this is but very little of that just ridicule that attends this kind of vanity.

We are told that none are gentlemen among the Chinese, but such as have rendered themselves worthy of the title.

2dly. Tedious collections of the sentiments

of great numbers of authors upon subjects that, in all likelihood, had never any being—but this is a parade of reading.

3dly. Trifling antiquities, hunted out of their mouldy recesses, which serve to no other purpose but to expose the injudicious searcher.

4thly. Tiresome criticisms upon a single word, when it is not of the least consequence whether there is, or ever was, any such sound.

5thly. Dissertations upon butterflies, which would take up almost as much time in the reading as the whole life of that insect—*cum multis aliis.*

This small scrap of Latin has escaped me, and I think it is the only *air* of learning, as they call it, that I have given to any of my letters, from the begining to this time, and even now I might have expressed the sense of it in homely English with as few words, and a sound as agreeable to the ear: but some are as fond of larding with Latin as a French cook is with bacon, and each of them makes of his performance a kind of linsey-woolsey composition.

As this letter is grown too bulky for the post, it will come to your hands by the favour of a gentleman, Major ——, who is to set out for London to-morrow morning upon an affair that requires his expedition.

I can justly recommend him to your acquaintance, as I have already referred him to yours; and I do assure you, that, by his ingenious and cheerful conversation, he has not a little contributed, for a twelvemonth past, to render my exile more tolerable; it is true I might have sent the sheets in parcels, but I have chosen rather to surprise you with them all at once; and I dare say, bating accidents, you will have the last of them sooner by his means than by the ordinary conveyance.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

STATE OF THE HIGHLANDS

In the beginning of the Seventeenth Century.

As the measures taken by James the Sixth, after his accession to the crown of England (and somewhat more than a century before our author's visit to Scotland), for *civilizing* the Highlanders, form the commencement of an era the most interesting in their history, because we have no authentic details of an earlier period from which any satisfactory conclusions can be drawn as to their *real* character and condition,—and as those measures, however injudiciously and ineffectually executed, produced, in the end, an acquaintance, interest, and connection, between the house of Stuart and the clans, which brought the latter forward to the notice of all Europe, and had a material influence upon their spirit, habits, and fortunes,—it is presumed that the following extracts from the records of the privy council of Scotland, commencing with March 10th, 1608, and ending with September, 12th, 1623, will be read with considerable interest by those who have perused the foregoing work. In these extracts, it will be seen what the purpose of the government was. That every thing was well meant, so far as they knew, and had the means of effecting, cannot be

questioned; but want of money is want of power; and no hearty co-operation of the subjects, serving at their own expence, was to be expected where there was no immediate advantage in view. There was little to be admired in the political state either of England or of Scotland, when the whole array of the latter country, from sixteen to sixty, must be called out to *raise the king's dues in the Hebrides*. That the service was particularly disagreeable to the Lowlanders appears from the difficulty of setting the first expedition in motion. In order to raise money, a commutation of five *per cent.* upon all rents was admitted in lieu of personal service; the consequence of which was, that few of those who were likely to have been most serviceable took the field: they marched as far as Dunivaig, every man taking with him forty days' provision; but the army was obliged to quit the country for want of food, and the ships for want of security. A garrison was placed in Dunivaig, and most of the denounced chiefs brought to Edinburgh; but Dunivaig was shortly after surprised and furnished against the king.

In this whole expedition, not more than thirty or forty lives were lost, except such as died of hunger, fatigue, and the various hardships connected with a campaign of Lowlanders in the Highlands. In the report of his proceedings, dated Edinburgh, 5th October, 1608, Andrew Lord Steuart, of Uchiltrie, the king's lieutenant, declares, that, among other important services, he has, in pursuance of the orders he had received, "brokin and distroyit the haill (*whole*) gallayis, lumfaddis (*long war-barges*), and birlingis that he could find in ony pairt of the yllis he resortit vnto." It appears that at that time these descendants of the

Scandinavian *sea-kings* had a very considerable naval apparatus, of pretty much the same kind as were used by their adventurous forefathers; and the lieutenant very sensibly represents to the council, that, after having destroyed all the galleys and row-boats in the isles, which were very numerous, it would be not only fair but necessary, to destroy also all that belonged to the good and loyal subjects on the mainland, opposite to the isles, in order, that if the islanders were deprived of the means of defence, their good neighbours might be deprived, at the same time, of the means of annoying them. The drift of all this indiscriminate destruction of vessels of every description (*except as much as might be necessary for conveying his majesty's rents*), was to encourage the "trade of fischeing, whiche *the peaceable subjects of the incuntrey* wald interteny in the saidis yllis, to the honnour and benefeit of the haill kingdome!"

Eight years after these great triumphs and wise precautions, we find the king infefting Rorye M'Kanyee of Coygache, in the lands and isles of Mull, Morverne, and Terey, which had formerly belonged to Hector M'Clayne of Dowart, whereupon Rorye professes himself heartily willing, with the assistance of the king's troops, to reduce his new tenants to "civilitie, ordour, and obedience."

What remained, long after this, to be done in that way, may be gathered from the following proclamation:—

"*Apud Edinburgh, xviij die mensis Junij*, 1622.

"FORSAMEKLE as the Kingis Majestie haveing bestowit greit panes and chairges and expensis towardis

the reducing of the Ilis and heighlandis of this kingdome to obedience, whilkis now by the pouer and force of his Majesteis auctoritie, and by his prudent and wyse governement, ar satled in quietnes and peace, and justice establisched within the same, to the conforte of all his Majesteis good subiectis in the Ilis and contenent nixt adjacent;—Thair is one Lymmer, to wit, Allane Camron of Lochyell, that lyis out, and refuisis to gif his obedience; who, haveing maid schipwrak of his faith and promeist obedience, and schaking of all feir of god, reverence of law, and regaird of Justice, and being diuerse tymes denuncit rebell, and put to the horne, for cruell and detestable murthouris and otheris insolenceis committit be him, he not onlie continowis in his rebellioun, as if he war nather subiect to king, law, nor justice; bot hes associat to himselfe ane number of otheris Lymmaris, by whome, and with whose assistance he intendis so far as in him lyis, to intertenye ane oppin rebellioun, and to disturb the pace and quiet of the helandis and Ilis; for repressing of whose insolencies, and reduceing of him to obedience, his Majestie, with advyse of the Lordis of his Counsaill hes past and exped ane commissioun to Colline Lord Kintaill, Sir Lauchlane M'Intosche of Dunnauchtane, Sir Rorie M'Claud of Herreis, Sir Donnald Gorme," &c. &c.

Here the whole array of the Highlands, with the late *thieves and limmers of the isles* at their head, is called forth to subdue "*the limmer Lochiel, with only a handful of limmers like himself, who issued from their starting-holes*," &c.

Allan Cameron had been for many years denounced, as "delyting in no thing els bot in cruell and detesta-

ble *murthouris*, fyre-raisings, SORCERYIS," &c. and his eldest son, John, was then in ward in the tolbuith of Edinburgh, as a hostage for his father's good behaviour; but his neighbours were his friends; and Allan was in no great danger from the king's wrath for the loss of his rents. It is impossible to judge of a character from the terms in which a denunciation of fire and sword is couched; but we will venture to say, that had these accusations been just to their full extent, a proclamation of the King against him would not have been necessary. Had he been guilty of *detestable murthouris*, his neighbours would of their own accord have punished him, in spite of his *sorceryis*; and both charges rest upon the same authority.

*In the court holden at Icolmkill, on the 23d of August, 1609, by Andrew Bishop of the Isles, (who had the king's commission for that purpose), at which most of the gentry of the neighbouring isles were present, "and understanding and considering the great ignorance, unto the which not only they, for the most part, themselves, but also the whole commonalty inhabitants of the Islands has been and are subject to, which is the cause of the neglect of all duty to God, and of his true worship, to the great growth of all kind of vice, proceeding partly of the lack of pastors planted, and partly of the contempt of these who are already planted; For remead whereof, they have agreed in one voice, like as it is presently concluded and enacted, that the ministry, as well planted as to be planted, within the parishes of the said Islands, shalbe reverently obey-

* In this and the following extracts, the language of the Record has been verbally adhered to, though the *orthography* is modernised for the convenience of English readers.

ed, their stipends dutifully paid them, the ruinous kirks with reasonable diligence repaired, the sabbath solemnly keeped, adulteries, fornications, incest, and such other vile slanders severely punished, MARRIAGES CONTRACTED FOR CERTAIN YEARS *simpliciter* DISCHARGED, and the committers thereof holden repute and punished as fornicators; and that conform to the lowable (*laudable*) Acts of Parliament of this realme, and discipline of the reformed kirk;—the which the forenamed persons and every one of them, within their own bounds, faithfully promises to see put to due execution.

"The which day the foresaid persons, considering and having found by experience the great burden and charges that their whole countrymen, and specially their tenents and labourers of the ground has sustained, by furnishing of meat, drink, and entertainment to strangers, passengers, and others idle men, without any calling or vocation to win their living; has, for relief of passengers and strangers, ordained certain oistlaris (*inn-keepers*) to be sat down in the most convenient places within every Isle, and that by every one of the forenamed special men within their own bounds, as they shall best devise; which oistlaris shall have furniture sufficient of meat and drink to be sold for reasonable expences.

"And also they consent and assent, for the relief of their said intolerable burden, that no man be suffered to remain or have residence within any of their bounds of the saids Isles, without a special revenue and rent to live upon; or, at the least, a sufficient calling and craft whereby to be sustained. And to the intent that no man be chargeable to the country, by holding in

household of more gentlemen nor (*than*) his proper rent may sustain; it is therefore decreed and enacted with uniform consent of the foresaid persons, barons and gentlemen within-named, that they and each one of them shall sustain and entertain the particular number of gentlemen in household underwritten, to wit, Angus M'Donald of Dunneveg, six gentlemen; Hector M'Cleane of Dowart, eight gentlemen; Donald Gorm M'Donald, Rorie M'Cloyde, and Donnald M'Callum Vic Eane, each one of them, six gentlemen; Lauchlane M'Cleane of Coill, and Rorie M'Kynnoun, each one of them, three gentlemen; Lauchlane M'Cleane, brother to the said Hector, three servants; and the said gentlemen to be sustained and entertained by the forenamed persons, each one for their own parts, as is above rehearsed, upon their own expences and charges, without any supply of their country's.

"And finally, to the intent that the inhabitants of the said Islands have no cause to complain of any oppression; or that the fruit of the labours of the poor tenents and labourers of the ground within the same (as they have been heretofore), by eating up by sorners (*sturdy beggers*) and idle bellies; they have agreed in one voice, like as it is enacted, that whatsoever person or persons, strangers or inborne, within the bounds of the said Isles, shall happen to be found *sorning*, craving meat, drink, or any other geir from the tenents and inhabitants thaireof, by way of *congie*, as they term it, except for reasonable and sufficient payment from the oistlaires to be appointed as is foresaid, they shall be repute and holden as thieves and intolerable oppressors, called and pursued therefore before the Judge competent as for thift and oppression. And to the intent that they may

be made answerable to the laws; the foresaid gentlemen and barons binds and obleissis them with their friends and defendars (till His Majesty take farther order thereanent) by force to resist them, take and apprehend them, and make them answer to the laws.

"The which day, it being found and tried by appearance, that one of the special causes of the great poverty of the said Isles, and of the great cruelty and inhumane barbarity which has been practised by sundry of the inhabitants of the same upon others their natural friends and neighbours has, by their extraordinar drinking of strong wines and acquavitie brought in amongst them, partly by merchants of the mainland, and partly by some traffiquers indwellers amongst themselves; for remead whereof it is inacted by common consent of the forenamed persons, that no person nor persons indwellers within the bounds of the said whole Isles bring in to sell for money either wine or acquavitie under the pain of tinsale (*loss*) of the same, with power to whatsoever person or persons may apprehend the said wine or acquavitie to be brought in as said is, to dispone thereupon at their pleasure, without any payment or satisfaction to be made therefore. And farther, if it shall happen any merchant in the mainland to bring either wine or acquavitie to the said Isles, or any of them. It is likewise enacted that whatsoever person or personis indwellers thereof, that shall happen to buy any of the same from the said merchant, shall pay for the first fault forty pounds money, the second fault an hundred pounds; and the third fault the tinsale (*loss*) of his whole rooms, possessions, and moveable goods, and the same to be

without prejudice always to any per-

son within the said Isles to brew acquavitie and other drink to serve their own houses; and to the said special barons and substantious gentlemen to send to the Lowland, and there to buy wine and acquavitie to serve their own houses.

"The which day, It being understand that the ignorance and incivility of the said Isles has dayly increased by the negligence of good education and instruction of the youth in the knowledge of God and good letters; for remead whereof it is enacted that every gentleman or yeoman within the said Islands, or any of them, having children, male or female, and being in goods worth three score ky (*cows*), shall put at the least their eldest son, or, having no children male, their eldest daughter, to the schools in the Lowland, and entertain and bring them up there while (*till*) they may be found able sufficiently to speak, read, and write English.

"The which day the said reverend father, with the foresaid barons and gentlemen, considering ane lauable (*laudable*) Act of Parliament of this realme, by the which, for diverse good and reasonable causes contained thereintill, It is expressly inhibite forbidden and discharged that any subject within this his Majesty's kingdom bear hagbuts or pistollets out of their own houses and dwelling-places, or shoot therewith at deers, hares, or fowls, or any other manner of way, under certain great pains therein specified; which Act of Parliament, in respect of the monstrous deadly feuds heretofore entertained within the said Isles, has noways been observed and keeped amongst them as yet, to the great hurt of the most part of the inhabitants thereof; for remead whereof, It is enacted by common consent foresaid, that no person or persons within the bounds of

the said isles bear hagbuts nor pistollets forth of their own houses and dwelling-places; neither shoot therewith at deer, hares, fowls, nor no other manner of way in time coming, under the pains contained in the said Act. And if it shall happen any man to contravene the same, that the special man under whom the contravener dwells, execute the said act and pains contained thereintill upon him, the contravention always being sufficiently tried, or at the least produce him before the Judge Ordinar.

"The which day, it being considered, that amongst the remanent abuses which, without reformation, has defiled the whole Isles has been the entertainment and bearing with idle bellies, special vagabonds, BARDS, idle and sturdy beggars, express contrare the laws and lauable Acts of Parliament; for remead whereof, It is likeways enacted of common consent, that no vagabond, BARD nor profest pleisant (*fool by profession*), pretending liberty to BARD and flatter, be received within the bounds of the said Isles by any of the said special barons and gentlemen, or any others inhabitants thereof, or entertained by them, or any of them, in any sort: but, incace any vagabonds, bards, juglers, or such like, be apprehended by them, or any of them, he to be taken and put in sure seizement and keeping in the stocks, and thereafter to be debarred forth of the country with all goodly expedition.

"And for the better observeing keeping and fulfilling of the whole acts, laws, and constitutions within-written, and each one of them; It is agreed unto, concluded, and enacted, seing the principal of every clan man (*must*) be answerable for the remanent of the samen, his kin, friends, and defenders, That if any per-

son or persons, of whatsoever clan, degree, or rank, within the bounds of the said isles, shall happen to contravene the acts, laws, and constitutions within-written, or any of them, or disobey their chief or superiour foresaid; That then, and in that cace, these presents shall be a sufficient warrand to the baron and special man within whose bounds the contravener makes his special residence, to command him to ward; and incace of disobedience, to take and apprehend the person or persons disobeyers; and after due trial of their contravention in manner foresaid, to seize upon their moveable goods and geir, and to be answerable for the samen to be brought in to his Majesty's use; and to produce likeways the malefactors before the Judge competent, while (*till*) his Majesty take farther order thereanent, like as it is specially provided, that no chief of any clan, superiour of any lands, or principal of any family recept or maintain any malefactour, fugitive, or disobedient to his own natural and kindly chief and superiour. In witness whereof the foresaids barons and special gentlemen above-written has subscryved thir (*these*) presents with our hands as follows, in token of thir presents thereto.

"*Sic subscribitur:* Angus M'Coneill of Dwnivaig, M'Clane of Dowart, Donald Gorme of Slait, M'Cleud, M'Kynpoun, M'Clane of Coill, Donald M'Donald of Hentyram, M'Clane of Lochbuy, M'Quene.

Instructions for the Commissioners for settling the Peace of the West and North Isles.

The noblemen and landed gentlemen on the main land adjacent to the Isles, are to give bond each to keep his own bounds quiet, and admit no fugitives from the Isles.

" And to the effect none may pretend ignorance of our aim and drift herein, you are to consider the motives induceing us to so great a desire of the obedience and civilitie of these bounds. First, in the care we have of the planting of the gospel among these rude barbarous and uncivil people, the want whereof these years past no doubt has been the great hazard of many poor souls, being ignorant of their own salvation; next our desire to remove all such scandalous reproaches against that state in suffering a part of it to be possessed with such wild savages, void of God's feare and our obedience; and herewith the loss we have in not receiving the due rents addebted to us forth of those Isles, being of the patrimony of that our crown.

" But as the last is the meanest of all the motives, so the naked assurance of that yearly rent wilbe unto us small satisfaction, there being just cause of better hopes both of gain and contentment for *these bounds being fertile for corns and pasturage of cattle, and the seas very rich of fishing, if towns were builded in these bounds*, without question, not only thereby civility would be planted, but our rents in the customes and other casualities increased in a great sort; for which cause we would have it advised by you in what parts

any good towns with commodities of good harbours and sea-ports might be placed; that so we might further and advance the peopling of the same, by endowing them with liberties priviledges and immunities, the causes of the increase of many other great towns heretofore. And we will reserve some certain portion of ground about the same to be distributed amongst the inhabitants thereof, thereby to encourage people to dwell and make their residence there.

"And as we have ever wished from our heart that our good subjects of that kingdom (*Scotland*) should not hereafter be any farther troubled with taxes, subsidies, or obeying of proclamations made for reducing of these Isles to obedience; So we will you to consider, That seeing almost the chief and principal of these Islesmen (the Clandonald excepted, for whose obedience and entry when they shall be required, The lord Uchiltree our Lieutenant in these bounds, and the Bishop of the Isles, do freely undertake) are now entered there in sure ward, and that there cannot be offered any better occasion of capitulation with that sort of people; and we, having considered their petition, preferred unto us, offering all security possible, or then (*else*) pledges for performance of their duty; we expect, after you have heard either themselves or some in their names make offers both of payment of our rent, and for their obedience; to be then by you certified, what course is fittest to be taken, and by what means this so endless a work heretofore may be out put to that point as both our desire attayned vnto, and our good subjects there no farther troubled for this cause.

"And herein we think the present opportunity is very remarkable, That at the same time when we do

commit unto you the deliberation and execution of this matter concerning our Isles and Highlands within our continent in that kingdom; That our Council here are also advising in like manner for distributing of the whole north part almost of our kingdom of Ireland to such of our good subjects as will plant colonies therein; and the winter season being a most proper fitt time for deliberating and preparing, we hope it shall kythe (*appear*) against the spring, whether you be more careful for recovery of one member of your own body almost rotten and decayed, or they here to restore a parcel of that which, however pertaining to this estate, yet is no part of this kingdom.

"We will be sparing to dispose upon any part of these Isles, and unwilling to extermine, yea, scarce to transplant the inhabitants of the same, but upon a just cause; and we think the people remaining there may be divided into three sorts: The first is, these chieftains and leaders of clans, (men who never regarded what surety or right they had of any land, accounting their power to oppress warrand sufficient for them to possess; and using that tyrannical form over their tenents as it made the country to be almost unhabited; at least, caused many of them that were willing to have remained labourers, turn to idleness, as being out of hope, (or at least unwilling to live by the sweat of their brows,) did thereupon make choice to follow their chieftanes' example, to live upon other men's labour;—and of them is the second sort composed. The third is of them who are, and do still remain labourers, which sort, without some known cause to the contrary, might be well permitted to remain. The second sort might be enforced, either to take them

selfs to industry or then transported or else banished; and the first sort, of which there be some of the principals now in ward, may be either contented with a reasonable mean portion of that same lands which they had before, or then (*else*) transported to such a place where their far distance may remove all fear of breach on their part. But we noway hold it fit that any of these great chieftains should be continued in their possessions in that quantity as they have formerly acclaymed them; because it doeth nothing at all but gives them the greater scope to extend their tyranny, and maketh their reducing to obedience the more difficult and hard.

"And therefore it is to be advised by you what is fittest to be done with these in ward; and what shall be done with any such Islesmen as lyes out; and how that service in any point thereof which is yet unfinished may be once ended; and what shall be the course both of planting of civility, obedience, and religion in these parts, and for preserving of the same hereafter: of all which, and every point thereof, after the same has been reasoned, debated, and consulted upon amongst you, we do expect your advice and counsel what shall be farther prosecuted in that matter; upon return whereof, we will then send unto you the signification of our farther pleasure and will."

The weakness and poverty of the government obliged them to play off one clan against another, by which the tumults of the country were increased instead of being suppressed; and rebellions were excited and fomented by those guardians of the public peace, with a view to obtain the lands of the insurgents, as a reward for quelling them.

The Earl of Argyle was bound to assure the whole continent *foiranent* (overagainst) the West Isles, betwixt the Mull of Kintyre and Lochaber, that none of the fugitives and rebellious Islesmen "shall be ressett there;" and Allane M'Eanduy, M'Intoshe, and M'Ranald, were bound for Lochaber, &c. yet, notwithstanding the confidence and favour in which Argyle then stood, we find the privy council (28th Sept. 1609) *discharging* an oppressive and insolent proclamation of his, "That no merchantis nor vtheris sall by (*buy*) ony mairtis (*black cattle*), horsis or vtheris goodis within the boundis of Mule, or ony vttheris of the West Yllis."——"The saidis Yllismen having no vtheris meanis nor possibilitie to pay his Majesties decotyeis, bot by the seale of thair mairtis and horses, and the buying of such commodities being in all tymes bigane a free constant and peaceable trade to the merchantis, alsueill of Ergyll, as of the incuntrey (*midland country*)," &c.

Under what circumstances and auspices the *fishing* on the west coast was proposed to be carried on, will appear from the following document:—

"30 *July*, 1622.

"The quhilk day, in presence of the Lordis of Secreit Counsell compeirit personalie Sir Donald Gorme of Slait, Sir Rory M'Cleud of Hereis, Johnne M'Donald M'Allane Vic Eane of Ilantyrum, Capitane of Clanrannald, Ronnald M'Allane Vic Eane his uncle, Sir Lauchlane M'Kynnoun of Strathurdill, and actit, band and oblist thame That thay, nor nane of thame, nor nane of thair men tennentis and servandis, nor na otheris whome thay may stop or latt (*hinder*), sall on

na wayes invade, molest, harme, nor oppres his Majesteis goode subjectis hanting the trade of fisheing in the Ilis; and that thay sall not onlie protect thame fra all violence within thair boundis, bot lykewayes that thay salbe ansuerable for thair awne men, and for all otheris personis quhatsomeuir quho sallhappin to repair within thair boundis *respectivè*, and committ ony insolence oppressioun vpoun his Majesteis saidis subjectis; and for the whole wrongis and oppressionis that salbe committit vpoun thame heirefter; and that every one of thame within thair awne boundis sall appoint some sufficient honnest man to haif a cair, and to attend vpoun the saidis fishearis to protect and manteine thame in thair fisheing, and to withstand all insolence that salbe attempted aganis thame; quhilkis personis sua to be nominat and appointit be thame salbe authorized with power to apprehend ony heyland men that come within thair boundis *respectivè*, and committ ony disordour, violence or insolence vpoun the saidis fishearis, and to putt thame in warde, thair to remayne quhill *(till)* thay be presentit befoir the Justice to thair tryall.—And thay oblist thame to observe the premissis vnder the panes contenit in the actis *respectivè*, whairby thay ar bonnden to thair good behaviour to His Majestie and his lawis to witt, Sir Donald Gorme, and Sir Rory M'Cleud, ather of thame, under the pane of acht thousand pundis; The Captane of Clanrannald, vnder the pane of ten thousand merkis; Sir Lauchlane M'Kynnoun and Ronnald M'Eane, ather of thame, vnder the pane of ffyve thousand merkis."

No. II.

MEMORIAL

Addressed to his Majesty George I. concerning the State of the Highlands, by Simon Lord Lovat, 1724.

[This is the Memorial referred to as authority, by Marshal Wade, in the next article.]

"THE Highlands of Scotland, being a country very mountainous, and almost inaccessible to any but the inhabitants thereof, whose language and dress are entirely different from those of the Low-country, do remain to this day much less civilized than the other parts of Scotland, from whence many inconveniencies arise to his Majesty's subjects, and even to the government itself.

"That part of Scotland is very barren and unimproven, has little or no trade, and not much intercourse with the Low-country; the product is almost confined to the cattle which feed in the mountains. The people wear their ancient habit, convenient for their wandering up and down and peculiar way of living, which inures them to all sorts of fatigue. Their language, being a dialect of the Irish, is understood by none but themselves; they are very ignorant, illiterate, and in constant use of wearing arms, which are well suited to their method of using them, and very expeditious in marching from place to place.

"These circumstances have, in all times, produced

many evils, which have been frequently considered, and many remedies attempted, as it appears from the Scots acts of parliament. Their living among themselves, unmixt with the other part of the country, has been one of the causes that many of their families have continued in the same possessions during many ages, and very little alterations happen in the property of land; there are few purchases, and securities for debts are very uncertain, where power happens to be wanting to support the legal right.

"The names of the inhabitants are confined to a small number, partly from the little intercourse they have had with other people, and partly from the affectation that reigns among them, to annex themselves to some tribe or family, and thereby to put themselves under the protection of the head or chief thereof.

"These several names of families are respectively associated together in friendship and interest, each name under such person as is, or is reputed to be, the head of the family, who has very great authority over them, quite independent of any legal power, and has, in several instances, continued great numbers of years after that the lands where they live have been alienated from the chiefs whom they serve. There happened two surprising instances of this at the late rebellion; the one was concerning the Frasers, who, upon the Lord Lovat's arrival in Scotland, though he had been ane exile for many years, another family, viz. Alexander Mackenzie of Fraserdale, in possession of the estate, who had marched a number of them, formed into a regiment, to Perth, where the rebel army then lay;—yet notwithstanding all this, the moment they heard that their chief was assembling the rest of his friends and name in the

Highlands, they got together, and made their retreat good, till they joined Lord Lovat, and others, who were in arms for his Majesty.

"The other example was that of the Macleans, whose lands had been vested for debt in the family of Argyle, above forty years before; their chief had not ane inch of ground; but, after living and serving in France most part of his lifetime, had come over to London, where he had been maintained by the charity of Queen Anne. Yet, under all these circumstances, Sir John Maclean got together 400 of these men, out of a remote island in the west seas of Scotland, who fought under him at Dumblain, against his Majesty's troops, though commanded by their own landlord.

"This extraordinary state of the country has, in all times, produced many mutual quarrels and jealousies among the chiefs, which formerly amounted to a continual scene of civil warre; and to this day there remains both personal and hereditary feuds and animosities among them, which have a great influence over all their actions. The law has never had its due course and authority in many parts of the Highlands, neither in criminal nor civil matters; no remedy having proved entirely effectual, and one of the most useful having been disapproved. Schemes of this nature have been often framed, but with too little knowledge of the country, or the true rise of the abuses to be reformed, and very often with too much partiality, and views of resentment or private interest; all which tend only to create disorders and discontents, to exasperate some, and too much encourage others, and to make all more proper and reasonable expedients the more difficult to execute.

"The families in the Highlands are divided (besides the disputes arising among themselves) in principles between the Whigs and the Jacobites; and that so near an equality, that the authority of the government, by giving countenance or discouraging, and by rewards and punishments properly applied, and all centering in the advancement of the Whig interest, united together, might easily produce a vast superiority on the side of those who are well affected, there being in the country a great party who, ever since the names of Whig and Tory have been known, have been always ready to venture their lives in the protestant cause. But such has been the melancolly circumstances of affairs in Scotland for some years past, that almost all the considerable gentlemen who took up arms for his Majesty in the time of the late unnatural rebellion, have felt the displeasure of those in power in Scotland. But as this memorialist is humbly of opinion, that it is the duty of all good subjects to seal rather than widen breaches among the well affected, to contend only in zeal for his Majesty's service; and in consequence thereof, to look forward only in observations of this nature, he will open this scene no farther, than with all humble gratitude to acknowledge the great goodness of his Majesty towards him, in so often protecting and preserving him from impending ruin, which the resentment of his enemies had threatened.

"It would, without doubt, be very happy for the government, for the inhabitants of the low country, and, above all, for the Highlanders themselves, that all Scotland was equally civilized, and that the Highlanders could be governed with the same ease and quiet as the rest of Scotland. But as that must be the work of

great time, every remedy that can be suggested, though but particular and incomplete, yet may be worthy of the consideration of those in the administration; for whatever tends in any degree to the civilizing those people, and enforcing the authority of the law in those parts, does in so far really strengthen the present government. The use of arms in the Highlands will hardly ever be laid aside, till, by degrees, they begin to find they have nothing to do with them. And it is no wonder, that the laws establishing the succession of the crown, should be too little regarded by those who have not hitherto been used to a due compliance with any law whatsoever.

"One of the evils which furnishes the most matter of complaint at present is the continual robberies and depredations in the Highlands, and the country adjacent. The great difficulty in this matter arises from the mountainous situation of those parts, the remoteness from towns, and part thereof consisting of islands, dispersed up and down in the western seas, the criminals cannot, by any methods now practised, be pursued, much less seized and brought to justice, being able to outrun those whom they cannot resist.

"The bad consequences of those robberies are not the only oppression which the people suffer in the loss of their cattle and other goods,—but by the habitual practices of violences and illegal exactions. The Highlanders disuse all their country business, they grow averse to all notions of peace and tranquillity,—they constantly practise their use of arms,—they increase their numbers, by drawing many into their gang who would otherwise be good subjects,—and they remain ready and proper materials for disturbing the government upon the first occasion.

"These interruptions of the public peace in the Highlands were frequently under the consideration of the Parliament of Scotland, who, out of just resentment of such intolerable abuses, did, during the course of several reigns, pass many laws, but without success. They were very severe, drawn with more zeal than skill, and almost impracticable in the execution. In some few examples, these extraordinary severities took place; but that tended more to prevent than establish the quiet of the country, being sufficient to provok and exasperat, and too little to subdue the disturbers of the public peace.

"These evils thus remaining without a remedy, and the protection of the law being too weak to defend the people against such powerful criminals, those who saw they must inevitably suffer by such robberies, found it necessar to purchase their security by paying ane annual tribute to the chieftains of those who plundered. This illegal exaction was called Black Meall, and was levied upon the several parishes much in the same manner as the land-tax now is.

"The insolence of those lawless people became more intolerable than ever, about the time of the late happy revolution, when many of the chiefs of the same families were then in arms against our deliverer, King William, who were lately in rebellion against his Majestie. Ane army of regular troops marched into the Highlands, but with little success, even meeting with a defeat by my Lord Dundee, who commanded the rebells. Other methods were taken, which putt an end to the civil war. The well-affected Highlanders were made use of to assist the regular troops. Some of the rebell chiefs were privately gained over to the Government, so that

partly by force, and partly by severall other artfull managdements, the quiet of the country was restored, excepting that many of the rebells who had ceased to oppose the government, began to punder their neighbours, and sometimes one another.

"The continual feuds and animosities that has always raged among the chiefs of many Highland families, are skilfully and wisely made use of, both to prevent their uniting in the disturbance of the public peace, or their taking any joint measures against the government. There is almost allways good service to be done this way; and in time of the last rebellion, it retarded very much the proceeding of the rebells, and made their army much less than otherways it would have been.

"The parliament of Scotland impowered King William to establish particular commissions to proceed against criminalls in those parts, which were ishued with very extraordinary powers, and were executed in ane unlimited arbitrary manner, without any effect for the purposes they were established, so as to creat in all people ane aversion against such courts and judicature, which, even in matters of life and death, were confined by no rules of law whatsoever—they made malcontents against the government, and at last were prudently laid aside.

"After many fruitless experiments for bringing the Highlands to a state of more quiet, it was at last accomplished by the establishing independent companies, composed of Highlanders, and commanded by gentlemen of good affection and of credit in that county. This took its rise from ane address of the Parliament to the King.

"The advantages that arose from this measure were

many. These companies having officers at their head, who were gentlemen of interest in the Highlands, and well affected, were a great countenance and support, on all occasions, to the friends, and a terror to the enemies, of the government.

"The men being Highlanders, and well chosen for the purpose intended, the whole difficulties which arose in all former projects for preserving the peace of the Highlands, became even so many advantages and inconveniencies attending this measure. The men were cloathed in the best manner, after the fashion of the Highlanders, both for the unaccountable marches these people perform, and for their covering at night in the open air. They spoke the same language, and got intelligence of every thing that was doing in the country. They carried the same sort of arms, convenient for the Highlanders in their ways of acting. Being picked out for this service, they were the most known, and capable of following criminalls over the wild mountains—a thing impracticable but for natives to perform.

"The captains procured their men, in all their proceedings, the assistance of the inhabitants they had under their influence, and of all their friends in the country; and the inferior officers, and even the private men, wherever they came, found always some of their tribe or family who were ready to assist them in doeing their duty, when any part of these companies were upon command, either upon pursuit of criminalls, the getting intelligence, or otherways acting in the service. It gave no allarm, nor discovered what they were doeing; for when it was necessary that they should not be known, it was impossible to distinguish them from other natives.

"So that, by this scheme, the very barbarity, the uncivilised customs of the Highlanders, and all the severall causes of the want of peace, came in aid to preserve it till time and more expedients should further civilise the country.

"As the private men of the companies were chosen from among such of the Highlanders who were best acquainted with all parts of that country,—who knew those clans who were most guilty of plunder, with their manner of thieving, and with their haunts,—it was almost impossible for the robbers to drive away the cattle, or hide them any where, without being discovered; nor could they conceal themselves so, but that they were sooner or latter found out and seized; and in a short time there was such ane end putt to these illegal violences, that all the gangs were taken—the most notorious offenders were convicted and executed—and great numbers of others, whose guilt was less, were sent beyond sea into the service, as recruits during the war.

"Thus it was that this remedy was so successful; in so much, that about sixteen years agoe these disturbances, even before and at this time so frequent and grievous to the people, did intyrely cease."

"After the late unnatural rebellion, the Highlanders, who had been in arms against the government, fell into their old unsettled way of liveing, laying aside any little industry they had formerly followed, and returned to their usual violencies and robberies.

"About this time it was thought expedient to pass an act of parliament for dissarming the Highlanders, which was, without doubt, in theory, a measure very useful and desireable; but experience has shewed that

it has produced this bad consequence, that those who had appeared in arms, and fought for the government, finding it their duty to obey the law, did accordingly deliver up their arms,—but those lawless Highlanders, who had been well provided with arms for the service of the Pretender, knowing but too well the insuperable difficulty for the government to putt that act into execution, instead of really complying with the law, they retained all their arms that were useful, and delivered up only such as were spoiled, and unfitt for service; so that, while his Majestie's enemies remained as well provided and prepared for all sorts of mischief as they were before the rebellion, his faithful subjects, who were well affected, and ventured their lives in his service, by doing their duty, and submitting to the law, rendered themselves naked and defenceless, and at the mercy of their own and the government's avowed enemies.

"Upon this the plunders and robberies increased; but, upon the breaking of the independent companies in the year 1717, these robberies went on without any manner of fear or restraint, and have ever since continued to infest the country in a publick and open manner.* The regular troops not being able to discover or follow them, and all the innocent people are without arms to defend themselves. Thus, then, violences are now more notorious and universal than ever, in so much, that a great part of the country has, by necessity, been brought under the scandalous contributions before mentioned; and the rogues have very near undone many people, out of mere resentment, for their distinguishing themselves in his Majestie's service;

* Lovat was very sore for the loss of *his* company.

and others are ruined who dare refuse to comply with such illegal insolent demands.

"The method by which the country is brought under this tax is this: That when the people are almost ruined by continual robberies and plunders, the leader of the band of thieves, or some friend of his, proposes, that for a sum of money to be annually paid, he will press a number of men in arms to protect such a tract of ground, or as many parishes as submitt to pay the contribution. When the terms are agreed upon, he ceases to steal, and thereby the contributors are safe. If any refuse to pay, he is immediately plundered. To colour all this villany, those concerned in the robberies pay the tax with the rest, and all the neighbourhood must comply, or be undone. This is the case (among others) of the whole low country of the shyre of Ross.

"After the disarming act was passed, and those companies were broke, there were some other measures laid down for preserving the peace of the Highlands. Barracks were built at a very great expence, and detachments were made from the regiments in the neighbourhood to garrison them, and to take post in those places which were thought most proper for the repressing these disorders; but all this had no effect. The regular troops were never used to such marches, with their usual arms and accoutrements; were not able to pursue the Highlanders; their very dress was a signal to the robbers to avoid them; and the troops, who were strangers to the language, and often relieved by others, could never get any useful intelligence, nor even be sufficiently acquainted with the situation of the several parts of the country, so as to take the ne-

cessary measures for pursuing the robbers when any violence was committed.

"The effect of all which has been, that the government has been put to a great expence, and the troops fatigued to no purpose.

"The officers of the law, for the peace, are the Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace; and, in time of commotions, the Lieutenants and their deputies; which office, long disused, was revived and re-established at the time of the late rebellion.

"It would seem to be highly necessary to the government, that the Sheriffs and Lord Lieutenants should be persons having credit and interest in the shyre they are to govern,—they cannot otherwise have the knowledge necessary, of the gentlemen and inhabitants, for performing the duty of their office, and making it useful for the advancing of his Majestie's interest. On the contrary, such ignorance creats many mistakes in the execution of their charge, tending to the interruption of justice, and rendering the people under them discontented and unwilling to act in the service of the government. In these cases, it has happened that, throw misrepresentations of the characters of the persons employed under them, deputy sheriffs have been made every way unfit for their office,—ignorant, of bad reputation, and notoriously ill-affected to his Majesty.

"There are two deputies of the shyre of Inverness, both of which were actually in the late rebellion, Robert Gordon of Haughs, and John Bailie, a late servant to the Duke of Gordon during the rebellion; and both these deputies were prisoners in the hands of Lord Lovat upon that account, who has now the mor-

tification to see and feel them triumphant over him, loading him with marks of their displeasure.

" In the shyre of Ross the deputy-sheriff is Colin Mackenzie of Kincraig, who was likewise in arms with the late Earl of Seaforth against the government. The memorialist would not mention the encouragement the gentlemen of the name of M'Rewin met with in prosecuting his Majestie's faithful subjects, least it should have the appearance of any personall resentment, were it not the publick debate and judgement of the House of Lords this last session, have published to the world, by relieving Mr. George Munro from the oppression he lay under.

" It cannot but be a very melancholy scene for all the well-affected gentlemen and inhabitants in those parts, to find the very criminalls whom, a few years ago, they saw in arms and open rebellion in the Pretender's cause, vested with authority over them, and now acting in his Majestie's name, whom they endeavoured to destroy, and to whom alone they owe their lives.

" The constituting one person Sheriff or Lord Lieutenant over many shyres, has several bad consequences to his Majestie's service. There is one instance where eight lieutenancies are all joined in one person. The memorialist mentions this only as ane observation in general, without in the least detracting from the merit of any person whatsoever.

" From some of those causes it likeways happens, that when several persons are recommended by the Sheriffs or Lieutenants, to be made Justices of the Peace, not at all qualified for that office, without knowledge, mean, and of no estate nor character in

the country, or ill-affected to government, and when most or all the well-affected gentlemen are left out of the commission, it naturally produces such confusions and discontents as to frustrat the institution and design of the office, to the disturbance of the peace of the country—to the lessening of his Majestie's authority,—and particularly in all matters of excise, and a surcease of justice, and a vast detriment to the revenue.

"The revival of the Justices of the Peace of Scotland, immediately after the Union, was then esteemed a matter of the greatest importance to the government, and interest of the protestant succession. It is, therefore, the more to be lamented, that throwout the whole north of Scotland, there is hardly any regular acting Commission of the Justice of the Peace, whereas, if the considerable gentlemen were appointed, who have estates in their own county, and were all affected to his Majesty, there is no doubt but that office would be execute so as to be very useful to the government, and possibly pave the way for great improvements in the political state of the country. The memorialist, with all humility, submits these observations to his Majestie's consideration.

(Signed) "LOVAT."

No. III.

AN

AUTHENTIC NARRATIVE

OF

MARSHAL WADE'S *Proceedings in the Highlands of Scotland.*

[MS. Communicated by GEORGE CHALMERS, Esq. Author of Caledonia, &c.]

"May it please your Majesty,

"IN Obedience to your Majesty's commands and instructions under your Royal Sign Manual, bearing date the third of July 1724, commanding me to go in to the Highlands of Scotland, and narrowly to inspect the present situation of the Highlanders, their customs, manners, and the state of the country, in regard to the depredations said to be committed in that part of your Majesty's dominions; as also to make strict and particular enquiry into the effect of the last law for disarming the Highlanders, and for securing your Majesty's loyal and faithful subjects, represented to be left naked and defenceless, by paying due obedience thereto; and to inform your Majesty of all other particulars contained in the said instructions; and how far the Memorial delivered to your Majesty by Simon Lord Lovat, and his remarks thereupon are founded on Facts and the present practices of those people, and whether the remedies mentioned therein may properly be applyed

for preventing the several grievances, abuses, and violences complained of in the said memorial. Your Majesty has further been pleased to command me to make such inquiries, and endeavour to get such informations, relating to the several particulars above-mentioned, as may enable me to suggest to your Majesty such other remedies as may conduce to the quiet of your faithful subjects, and the good settlement of that part of the Kingdom.

"The day after I received your Majesty's Instructions, I proceeded on my journey, and have travelled through the greatest and most uncivilized parts of the Highlands of Scotland, and humbly beg leave to lay before your Majesty, the following report, which I have collected, as well from my own observations, with all faithfulness and impartiality, as from the best informations I could procure during my continuance in that part of the Country.

"The Highlands are the mountainous parts of Scotland, not defined or described by any precise limits or boundaries of counties or shires; but are tracts of mountains, in extent of land more than one half of the kingdom of Scotland, and are for the most part on the Western Ocean, extending from Dunbarton to the north end of the Island of Great Britain, near two hundred miles in length, and from about forty to fourscore miles in breadth. All the Islands on the West and North West Seas, are called Highlands, as well from their mountainous situation, as from the habits, customes, manners and language of their inhabitants. The Lowlands, are all that part of Scotland on the south of the Firth and Clyde; and on the east side of the kingdom from the Firth of Edinburgh to Caithness near the

Orkneys, is a tract of low country, from four to twenty miles in breadth.

"The number of men able to bear arms in the Highlands (including the inhabitants of the Isles) are by the nearest computation about 22,000 men, of which number, about 10,000 are vassals to Superiors, well-affected to your Majesty's Government; most of the remaining 12,000 have been engaged in rebellions against your Majesty, and are ready, when ever encouraged by their Superiors, or Heads of Clans, to create new troubles, and rise in arms to favour the Pretender.

"Their notions of virtue and vice, are very different from the more civilized part of mankind. They think it the most sublime virtue, to pay a servile and abject obedience to the commands of their Chieftains, although in opposition to their Sovereign and the laws of the Kingdom; and to encourage this their fidelity, they are treated by their chiefs, with great familiarity: they partake with them in their diversions, and shake them by the hand wherever they meet them.

"The virtue next to this in esteem amongst them is the love they bear to that particular branch of which they are a part; and, in a second degree, to the whole Clan or name, by assisting each other (right or wrong) against any other Clan with whom they are at variance; and great barbarities are often committed by one, to revenge the quarrels of others. They have a still more extensive adherence one to another as Highlanders, in opposition to the people who inhabit the Low Countries, whom they hold in the utmost contempt, imagining them inferiour to themselves in courage, resolution, and the use of arms; and accuse them of being proud, ava-

ritious, and breakers of their word. They have also a tradition among them, that the Lowlands were in ancient times the inheritance of their ancestors, and therefore believe they have a right to committ depredations, whenever it is in their power to put them in execution.

" The Highlanders are divided into tribes or clans, under lairds or chieftains, (as they are called in the laws of Scotland;) each Tribe or Clan is subdivided into little branches springing from the main stock, who have also Chieftains over them; and, from these are still smaller branches of 50 or 60 men, who deduce their original from them, and on whom they rely as their protectors and defenders.

" The arms they make use of in war are a musket, a broad sword and target, a pistol, and a durk or dagger hanging by their side, with a powder horn, and pouch for their ammunition. They form themselves into bodies of unequal numbers, according to the strength of their Clan, which is commanded by their respective Superior or Chieftain. When in sight of the enemy, they endeavour to possess themselves of the highest ground, believing they descend on them with greater force; They generally give their fire at a distance, then lay down their arms on the ground, and make a vigorous attack with their broad swords; but if repulsed, seldom or never rally again.—They dread engaging with the cavalry, and seldom venture to descend from the mountains, when apprehensive of being charged by them.

" On sudden alarms, or when any chieftain is in distress, they give notice to their clans, or those in alliance with them, by sending a man with what they call the

fiery cross, which is a stick in the form a cross, burnt at the end; who send it forward to the next Tribe or Clan. They carry with it a written paper directing them where to assemble; upon sight of which they leave their habitation, and with great expedition repair to the place of rendezvous with arms, ammunition, and meal for their provision.

"I presume also to represent to your Majesty, that the manners and customs of the Highlanders, their way of living, their strong friendship to those of their own Name, Tribe, and Family, their blind and servile submission to the Commands of their Superiors and Chieftains, and the little regard they ever paid to the Laws of the Kingdom, both before and since the Union, are truly set forth in the Lord Lovat's Memorial, and other matters contained in the said paper, which your Majesty was pleased to direct should be put in my hands to peruse and examine.

"The Imposition mentioned in that Memorial, commonly called *Black meal*, is levied by the Highlanders on almost all the Low Country bordering there on; but as it is equally criminal, by the laws of Scotland, to pay this exaction, as to extort it, the inhabitants, to avoid the penalty of the laws, agree with the robbers or some of their correspondents in the Low Lands, to protect their houses and cattle; who are in effect their Stewards or Factors; and as long as this payment continues, the depredations cease upon their lands; otherwise the collector of this illegal imposition is obliged to make good the loss they have sustained. They give regular receipts for the same, as safeguard money; and those who refuse to submitt to this imposition, are sure of being plundered, there being no other way to avoid

it, but by keeping a constant guard of armed men, which, although it is sometimes done, is not only illegal but a more expensive way of securing their property.

"The clans, in the Highlands, the most addicted to rapine and plunder, are the Camerons, on the west of the shire of Inverness; the M'Kenzies and others, in the shire of Ross, who were vassals to the late Earl of Seaforth; the M'Donalds of Keppoch; the Broadalbin Men and the M'Gregors, on the borders of Argileshire. They go out in parties from ten to thirty men, traverse large tracks of mountains, till they arrive at the Low Lands, where they design to commit their depredations, which they choose to do in places distant from the Glens which they inhabit. They drive the stolen cattle in the night time, and in the day remain on the tops of the mountains or in the woods, (with which the Highlands abound), and take the first occasion to sell them at the fairs or markets, that are annually held in many parts of the Country.

"Those who are robbed of their cattle (or persons employed by them), follow them by the tract, and often recover them from the robbers, by compounding for a certain sum of money agreed on; but if the pursuers are in numbers superiour to the thieves, and happen to seize any of them, they are seldom or never prosecuted, the poorer sort being unable to support the charges of a prosecution. They are likewise under the apprehension of becoming the object of their revenge, by having their houses and stacks burnt, their cattle stolen, or hocked, and their lives at the mercy of the Tribe or Clan to whom the banditti belongs. The richer sort, to keep, as they call it, good neighbourhood, generally

compound with the chieftain of the Tribe or Clan for double restitution, which he willingly pays to save one of his clan from prosecution; and this is repaid him by a contribution from the thieves of his clan, who never refuse the payment of their proportion to save one of their own fraternity. This composition is seldom paid in money, but in cattle stolen from the opposite side of the Country, to make reparation to the person injured.

"The Chiefs of some of these tribes never fail to give countenance and protection to those of their own clan; and tho' they are taken and committed to prison, by the composition above-named, the prosecution is dropped, and the plaintif better satisfied than if the criminal was executed, since he must be at the charge and trouble of a tedious, dilatory, and expensive prosecution; and I was assured by one who annually attended the assizes at Inverness for four years past, that there had been in that time but one person executed there by the Lords of the Justiciary, and that (as I remember) for murder, tho' that place is the Judicature in criminal cases for the greatest part of the Highlands of Scotland.

"There is another practice used in the Highlands by which the cattle stolen are often discovered, which is by sending persons to that part of the country most suspected, and making an offer of a reward (which the Highlanders call *Tascall* money) to any who will discover their cattle, and the persons who stole them.—By the temptation of reward, and promise of secrecy, discoveries were often made, and restitution obtained.

"But to put a stop to a practice they thought an injury to the tribe, the whole Clan of the Camerons

(and others since by their example) bound themselves by oath never to take *Tascall* money, nor to inform one against the other. This oath they take upon a drawn dagger, which they kiss in a solemn manner, and the penalty declared to be due to the breach of the said oath is, to be stabbed with the same dagger. This manner of swearing is much in practice on all other occasions, to bind themselves one to another, that they may with more seurity exercise their villainies, which they imagine less sinful than the breaking of that oath; since they commit all sorts of crimes with impunity, and are so severely punished if forsworn. An instance of this happened in December 1723, when one of the Clan of the Camerons, suspected to have taken Tascall money, was in the night time called out of his hut from his wife and children, and hanged up near his own door. Another of that tribe was for the same crime (as they term it) kept a month in the stocks, and afterwards privately made away with.

"The encouragement and protection given by some of the Chiefs of Clans, is reciprocally rewarded, by allowing them a share in the plunder, which is sometimes one half, or two thirds of what is stolen. They exercise an arbitrary and tyrannical power over them; they determine all disputes and differences that happen among their vassalls; and, on extraordinary occasions, as the marriage of a daughter, the building of an house, or any other pretence for the support of their chief, or honour of the Name, he levies a tax on the tribe; to which imposition if any refuse to contribute, he is sure of the severest treatment, or, at best to be cast out of the tribe; and it is not to be wondered at, that those who submit to this servile slavery, will,

when summoned by their superiors, follow them into rebellioun.

"To remedy these inconveniences, there was an act of Parliament passed in the year 1716, for the more effectual securing the peace of the Highlands in Scotland, by disarming the Highlanders; which has been so ill executed, that the Clans the most disaffected to your Majesty's government remain better armed than ever, and consequently more in a capacity, not only of committing robberies and depredations, but to be used as tools or instruments to any foreign power or domestic incendiaries, who may attempt to disturb the peace of Your Majesty's reign.

"By this Act the Collectors of Taxes were empowered to pay for the armes delivered in, as they were valued by persons appointed for that purpose in the respective counties; but as the Government was to support the charge, they did not scruple to apraise them at a much higher rate than their real worth, few or none being delivered up, except such as were broken and unfit for service; and I have been informed that from the time of passing that Act, to the time it was put in execution, great quantities of broken and useless arms were brought from Holland and other foreign countries, and delivered up to the persons appointed to receive the same at exorbitant prices.

"The Spaniards, who landed near the Castle Donnan in the year 1719, brought with them a great number of arms. They delivered to the rebellious Highlanders, who are still possessed of them; many of which I have seen in my passage thro' that country, and I judge them to be the same from their peculiar make, and the fashion of their locks. These, and others now

in their possession, by a moderate computation, are supposed to amount to five or six thousand, besides those in the possesion of the clans who are in your Majesty's interest, provided, as they alledge, for their own defence.

"The Legislature in Scotland, before the Union of the Kingdomes, has ever considered the Highlands in a different state from the rest of the nation, and made peculiar laws for their government, under the severest penalties. The Chieftains of Clans were obliged to send their children or nearest relations, as hostages to Edinburgh, for the good behaviour of their respective Clans, and in default, they might be put to death by the Law. The Clans and Tribes, who lived in a state of anarchy and confusion (as they seem to be at this time), were by the very words of the Acts of Parliament to be pursued by fire and sword; but, as the execution of the Laws relating to the Highlands, were under the care of the Privy Council of Scotland (now no longer subsisting), and by Act of Parliament were obliged to sit the first day in every month for that purpose; it often happened that men of great power in the Highlands were of the said Council, who had no other way of rendering themselves considerable, than from their number of armed men, and consequently were less zealous in putting the laws in execution against them.

"The Independent Companies, raised by King Williame not long after the Revolution, reduced the Highlanders to better order than at any time they had been in since the Restoration. They were composed of the natives of the Country, inured to the fatigue of travelling the mountains, lying on the Hills, wore the

same habit, and spoke the same langaage; but for want of being put under proper regulations, corruptions were introduced, and some, who commanded them, instead of bringing criminals to justice, (as I am informed) often compounded for the theft, and, for a sum of money set them at liberty. They are said also to have defrauded the Government by keeping not above half their numbers in constant pay, which (as I humbly conceive) might be the reason your Majesty caused them to be disbanded.

"Four barracks were afterwards built in different parts of the Highlands, and parties of regular troops, under the command of Highland officers, with a company of 30, established to conduct them through the mountains, was thought an effectual scheme, as well to prevent the rising of the Highlanders disaffected to Your Majesty's Government, as to hinder depredations on your faithful subjects. It is to be wished that, during the reign of your Majesty and your successors, no insurrection may ever happen to experience whether the barracks will effectually answer the end proposed; yet I am humbly of opinion, that if the number of troops they are built to contain, were constantly quartered in them (whereas there is now in some but thirty men, and proper provisions laid in for their support during the winter season) they might be of some use to prevent the insurrections of the Highlanders, tho', as I humbly conceive (having seen them all), that two of the four are not built in as proper situations as they might have been. As to the Highland Parties, I have already presumed to represent to your Majesty the little use they were of in hindering

depredations, and the great sufferings of the soldiers employed in that service, upon which your Majesty was graciously pleased to countermand them.

"I must farther beg leave to report to your Majesty, that another great cause of Disorders in the Highlands is the want of proper persons to execute the several offices of civil Magistrates, especially in the shires of Inverness, Ross, and some other parts of the Highlands.

"The party quarrels and violent animosities among the Gentlemen equally well affected to your Majesty's Government, I humbly conceive to be one great cause of this defect. Those here in arms for your Majesty, who raised a spirit in the shire of Inverness, and recovered the Town of that name from the rebels (their main body being then at Perth), complain that the persons employed as magistrates over them have little interest in the country, and that three of the Deputy Sheriffs in those parts were persons actually in arms against your Majesty at the time of the Rebellion, which (as I am credibly informed) is true. They likewise complain that many are left out of the commissions of Lord Lieutenents, Deputy Lieutenents, Sheriffs, &c. and I take the liberty to observe, that the want of acting Justices of the Peace is a great encouragement to the disorders so frequently committed in that part of the country, there being but one now residing as an acting Justice for the space of above an hundred miles in compass. Your Majesty's commands, requiring me to examine into the state and condition of the late Earl of Seaforth's Estate, engaged me to go to the castle of Brahan, his principal seat, and other parts of the said Estate, which, for the most part, is Highland country, and

extends from Brahan to Kintail on the western coast, being thirty six miles in length, and the most mountainous and impassable part of the Highlands. The whole Isle of Lewis was also a part of the said Earl's Estate.

" The Tenents before the late rebellion were reputed the richest of any in the Highlands, but now are become poor, by neglecting their business, and applying themselves wholly to the use of arms. The rents continue to be levied by one Donald Murchieson, as servant of the late Earl's, who annually remits, or carries, the same to his master into France. The tenents, when in a condition, are also said to have sent him free gifts in proportion to their several circumstances, but are now a year and a half in arrear of rent.

" The receipts he gives to the Tenents are as deputy Factor to the Commissioners of the forfeited estates, which pretended power in the year 1721 he extorted from the Factor (appointed by the said commissioners to collect those rents for the use of the Publick), whom he attacked with above four hundred armed men, as he was going to enter upon the said Estate, having with him a party of thirty of your Majesty's troops. The last year this Murchieson marched in a publick manner to Edinburgh, to remit eight hundred pounds to France for his master's use, and remained there fourteen days unmolested. I cannot omit observing to your Majesty, that this national tenderness the subjects of North Britain have one for the other is a great encouragement for rebels and attainted persons to return home from their banishment.

" Before I conclude this report, I presume to observe to your Majesty, the great disadvantages which regular troops are under when they engage with those who

inhabit mountainous situations. The Savennes in France, the Catalans in Spain, have in all times been instances of this truth. The Highlands in Scotland are still more impracticable, from the want of Roads and Bridges, and from the excessive rains that almost continually fall in those parts; which, by nature and constant use, becomes habitual to the Natives, but very difficultly supported by the regular troops. They are unacquainted with the passages by which the mountains are traversed; exposed to frequent ambuscades, and shot from the tops of the hills, which they return without effect—as it happened at the affair of Glensheals, where the rebels lost but one man in the action, tho' a considerable number of your Majesty's troops were killed and wounded.

"I have endeavoured to report to your Majesty as true and impartial an account of the several particulars required by my Instructions, as far as I have been able to collect them during my short continuance in the Highlands, as your Majesty is pleased to command me: I presume to offer my humble opinion of what I conceive necessary to be done towards establishing order in those parts, and reducing the Highlands to a more due submission to your Majesty's Government."

"PROPOSAL FIRST.

"That companies of such Highlanders as are well affected to his Majesty's Government be established under proper regulations, and commanded by officers speaking the Language of the Country, subject to martial law, and under the inspection and orders of the Governors of Fort William, Inverness, and the officer commanding his Majesty's forces in those parts. The

expence of these companies, which may in the whole consist of two hundred and fifty, or, at most, three hundred men, may be answered by reducing one man *per* troop and company, of the regular forces.

" 2. That the said companies be employed in disarming the Highlanders, preventing depredations, bringing criminals to justice and to hinder rebels and attainted persons from inhabiting that part of the kingdom.

" 3d. That a redoubt or barrack be erected at Inverness, as well for preventing the Highlanders' descending into the Low Country in time of rebellion, as for the better quartering his Majesty's troops, and keeping them in a body sufficient to prevent or subdue Insurrections.

" 4. That, in order to render the Barrack at Killyhuimen of more use than I conceive it to be at present (from its being situated at too great a distance from the Lake Ness) a Redoubt to be built at the west end adjoining to it, which, with the said Barrack, may be able to contain a Battalion of foot, and a communication made for their mutual support, the space of ground between the one and the other being less than 500 yards. This appears to be more necessary from the situation of the place, which is the most centrical part of the Highlands—a considerable pass, equally distant from Fort William and Inverness, and where a body of a thousand men may be drawn together from those garrisons in twenty four hours, to suppress any insurrection of the Highlanders.

5. That a small vessel with oars and sails be built on the Lake Ness, sufficient to carry a party of sixty or eighty soldiers, and provisions for the garrison,

which will be a means to keep the communication open between that place and Inverness, and be a safe and ready way of sending parties to the country bordering on the said lake, which is navigable for the largest vessels. It is twenty four miles in length, and a mile, or more, in breadth, the country being mountainous on both sides.

"6. That the Governors, or such as His Majesty is pleased to appoint to command at Fort William, Inverness, or Killyhuimen, till the peace of the Highlands is better established, be required to reside at their respective stations, and to give an account of what passes in that country to the Commander in Chief of the Forces in Scotland, and to such others, whom His Majesty is pleased to appoint.

"7. That Inspection be made into the present condition of the garrisons and castles in North Britain, and necessary repairs made to secure them from the danger of a sudden surprize, and more especially the Castle of Edinburgh, which remains exposed to the same attempt as was made on it in the year 1715; there being nothing effectually done since that time for the security of that important place on which depend not only the safety of the city, but of all that part of the Kingdom.

"8. That a regiment of dragoons be ordered to quarter in the Low Country between Perth and Inverness (when forage can be provided for their support) which will not only hinder the Highlanders from descending into that part of the Country, from the apprehensions they are under of engaging with Horse; but may be a means to prevent the landing of small bodies of troops, that may be sent from foreign parts

to invade that part of the Kingdom, and encourage the Highlanders to rebellion.

9. "That, for the support of the Civil Government proper persons be nominated for Sheriffs and Deputy Sheriffs in the Highland Counties, and that Justices of the Peace and Constables be established in proper places with small salaries allowed them for the charge they say they are of necessity at, in seizing and sending criminals to distant prisons; and that Quarter Sessions be punctually kept at Killyhuimen, Ruthwen in Badenock, and Fort William, and if occasion require, at Bernera near the coast of the Isle of Skey.

10. "That an Act of Parliament be procured effectually to punish the Highlanders inhabiting the most uncivilized parts of the country, who carry, or conceal in their dwellings, or other places, arms, contrary to the Law; and as the penalty of a fine in the late Act has never been, or from their poverty never can be, levied, it is hoped the Parliament will not scruple to make it felony, or transportation, for the first offence.

11. "That an Act of Parliament be procured, empowering the heretors and freeholders of every county to assess themselves yearly, not exceeding a definite sum, to be applied by the Commissioners of the Land Tax, and the Justices of the Peace, for defraying the charges of apprehending, prosecuting and maintaining criminals while in Jail; for as the prosecutor is now to defray those charges, it is not to be wondered at, that so few of them have been brought to Justice, and so many malefactors escaped with impunity.

"All which is most humbly represented and submitted to your Majesty's consideration.

(Signed) "GEORGE WADE."

"The underwritten Clans or Tribes were engaged in the late Rebellion:—most of them are armed, and commit depredations.

"The M'Kenzies, and the small Clans, viz. The M'Ra's, the M'Lennans, Murchiesons, and the M'Leods of North Assint, and the M'Leys inhabiting the Countries belonging to the late Lord Seaforth; and all the Gentlemen and others of the name of M'Kenzie in the Main Land, and Isle of Lewis, in Ross, and Sutherland, shires; the M'Leods and others of Glenelg in the Isle of Skey, and the Harries in the shire of Inverness; the M'Donalds and others of Slate or Skey and North Vist in the shire of Inverness. The M'Donalds and others of Glengary, Obertaff, or Knoidart, in Inverness shire; the M'Donalds and others of Muidart, Arrisack, Muick, Canna, South Vist, in Inverness and Argyle shires. The Camerons of Lochiel in Inverness shire; the Camerons of Ardnamurchan, Swynard, and Morvine, in Argyle shire; and the other small tribes in these countries; the M'Donalds of Keppoch, and others in that part of Lochaber belonging to M'Kintosh of Borlum [*Mackintosh*] in Inverness shire; the Stewarts of Appin and others in that Country in Argyle shire; the M'Leans in Mull, Rum, Coll, Morvine, Ardnamurchan and Swinard, in Argyle shire.

"The several Clans in that part of Lochaber belonging to the Duke of Gordon in Inverness shire; and those in Murray and Bamf shires.

"The M'Neils of Barray in Argyle shire; the M'Kintoshes and other tribes of that name in Inver-

ness shire; the Robertsons belonging to Strowan in Perthshire.*

"The underwritten Clans belong to Superiors well affected to His Majesty.

The Duke of Argyle	4000
Lord Sutherland and Strathnaver	1000
Lord Lovat, (Frasers)	800
The Grants	800
The Rosses and Monroes	700
Forbes of Cullodin	200
Rose of Kilraick	300
Sir Archibald Campbell of Clunes	200
	8000

"The two Clans underwritten for the most part went in the Rebellion in 1715, without their Superiors:

The Athol Men	2000
The Braidalbin Men	1000
	3000

"The Clans underwritten were in the late Rebellion, and supposed still to be disaffected to His Majesty's Government.

The Islands and Clans of the late Lord Seaforth	3000
Carried over	3000

* In the subsequent enumeration, he seems to have considered the *Robertsons of Athol* also as retainers of Robertson of Strowan, which they were not, although they took the same side in politics.

Brought over	3000
M'Donalds of Slate	1000
M'Donalds of Glengary	800
M'Donalds of Moudairt	800
M'Donalds of Keppoch	220
Lochiel Camerons	800
The M'Leods in all	1000
Duke of Gordon's followers	1000
Stewarts of Appin	400
Robertsons of Strowan	800
M'Kintoshes and Farquharsons	800
M'Euens in the Isle of Skey	150
The Chisholms of Strathglass	150
The M'Farsons	220
In all	11140

"Roman Catholicks in the Highlands.

"THE late Earl of Seaforth; but none of his followers, except the Lairds of M'Kenzie of Killewn and M'Kenzie of Ardloch. The first has power over the inhabitants of the Isle of Lewis, and the latter over those who inhabit near Coighach and Loch Broom, which is in the north part of Seaforth's Country.

"Chisholm of Strathglass and his Clan.—Most of Glengary's Tribe are Roman Catholicks; but he himself is not.

"M'Donald of Moudairt and many of his Clan are Roman Catholicks. M'Leod [*M'Niel*] of Barra and his Tribe. The Duke of Gordon* and the most considerable of his followers are Roman Catholicks.

* The Duke's family had changed their religion before this time, as well as the Laird of Clanrannald.

"At present, the Earl of Sutherland is Lord Lieutenent of the Counties of Murray, Nairn, Inverness, Ross, Cromarty, Sutherland, Caithnes, and Orkney.

"In Inverness-shire, and Ross-shire, the King has the nomination of the Sheriffs.

"Lord Sutherland is Sheriff of Inverness-shire, and Sir William Gordon of Ross-shire; having for their Deputies Robert Gordon of Haugh, John Baillie of Torbreck, who were in the Rebellion; Colin M'Kenzie of Kincraig, who was in the Rebellion, and Bain of Knock Bain.

"List of the most considerable Gentlemen who are well-affected to His Majesty's Government, who inhabit and have estates in the Counties under-mentioned.

Murray	Alexander Brody, Member of Parliament, Alexander Rose of Kilraick, Laird of Grant, Member of Parliament. Sir Harry Inness, Alexander Duff of Brachan.
Nairn	Alexander Ross Junior, Mr Brody of Brody, Mr Forbes of Cullodin, Member of Parliament.
Inverness	The Laird of Grant, The Lord Lovat, Mr Forbes of Cullodin.
Ross	Mr Rose of Kilraick, Col Monro, Member of Parliament, General Ross, Mr Monro of Culkarn.

Cromarty { Mr Rose of Kilraick,
Sir William Gordon, Member of Parliament.

Sutherland, The Earl of Sutherland.

Caithness { The Earl of Caithness,
Alexander Sinclair of Ulbster.

[Orkney] The Earle of Morton.

"Gentlemen inhabiting the shire of Inverness, said to be proper persons for executing the Office of Justices of the Peace.

"Grant of Rothimurchies, formerly an officer in the Army.
John M'Pherson of Inverishie.
Hugh Frazer of Struy,
James Frazer of Toyer,
Hugh Frazer of Erragie,
Donald M'Leod of Talasker,
Alexander M'Leod of Drynoch,
William M'Leod of Hamber,
Alexander Frazer of Culduthill is at present in the Commission for the Peace."

"*Report to His Majesty concerning the Highlands of Scotland, in* 1725.

"May it please your Majesty,

"In Obedience to your Majesty's Commands, and pursuant to a Warrant under your Royal Sign Manual, bearing date the first of June, 1725, signifying to me Your Majesty's pleasure that I should return to the Highlands of Scotland, and empowering me in pursu-

ance of an act of the last Session of Parliament, (intituled "An Act for more effectual disarming the Highlands in that part of Great Britain called Scotland)" to summon the several Clans and persons within the description of the said Act, thereby commanding and requiring them in Your Majesty's name to deliver up all and singular their arms and warlike weapons for the use of Your Majesty, your heirs and Successors; and, in obedience to Your Majesty's Instructions under Your Royal Sign Manual of the same date, authorizing me to grant licences to such of your Majesty's subjects, in that part of Your Kingdom, who might have occasion to travel with Merchandize to Markets or Fairs, and on other their lawful occasions, to bear and carry with them arms for their security and defence; and also to employ the companies of Highlanders lately raised, pursuant to Your Majesty's orders, for securing the peace and quiet of the Country, together with the Regular Troops to assist the civil magistrate as occasion might require.

"Your Majesty by the said Instructions was pleased to command me, that as soon as the troops were assembled and encamped in the mountains, the first summons should be sent to the several Clans, vassals, and tenents of the late Earl of Seaforth who, since his attainder had continued in a state of disobedience to the laws and government, and refused to pay in their rents for the use of the Publick; that I should march a body of Your Majesty's troops to the Castle of Brahan, the principal seat of the late Earl; and, in order to induce the said Clans, vassals, and tenents to a dutiful submission for the time to come, Your Majesty was graciously pleased to empower me by the said instruc-

tions to give hopes to the said tenents, that if they peaceably delivered up their arms, and would for the future pay in their rents for the use of the Publick, pursuant to Your Majesty's gracious intentions, Your Majesty should by such behaviour and submission be induced to recommend them to your Parliament, in order to procure them an indemnity for the rents that have been misapplied since the attainder of the said late Earl.

"Your Majesty was likeways pleased to command me, that when this service was performed, I should proceed to summon the rest of the Highland Clans one after another, who were reputed disaffected to Your Majesty's Government, or most addicted to commit robberies and depredations; to cause the Castle of Inverness to be repaired, and Barracks to be built there and at Killyhuimen, for the quartering a sufficient number of Your Majesty's troops in those places, in order to prevent or subdue insurrections, and for hindering the Highlanders from passing into the Low Country, in time of rebellion, as well as to prevent for the future their returning to the use of arms, or committing depredations on the adjacent countries; To cause a vessel with oars and sails to be built on the Lake Ness, sufficient to carry a party of Soldiers with provisions and amunition for the support of the forces quartered at Killyhuimen; and to secure the communication between that place and Inverness. Your Majesty was also pleased to command me, not to suffer persons who were attainted of High Treason for the late unnatural rebellion, to presume any longer to reside in the Highlands, unless it should happen that any of the said attainted persons, by being convinced of their past

folly and rashness, were willing and desirous to submit to your Majesty, and for the future to live peaceably and dutifully under Your Government: Your Majesty in such case was graciously pleased to empower me to receive their offers of submission, and to transmit the same to your Majesty's principal Secretary of State, in order to their being laid before Your Majesty for your Royal Consideration.

"These and other Your Majesty's commands I have endeavoured to the utmost of my power to put in execution, rather by a mild and moderate treatment of your Majesty's misled subjects, than by acts of rigour and severity, as a method of proceeding in my humble opinion the most agreeable to Your Majesty's gracious intentions. Your Majesty was likewise pleased to command me from time to time to correspond with his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, Your Majesty's principal Secretary of State, to give his Grace an account of the progress I should make, and of any difficulty that might arise in relation to the same; and to represent to Your Majesty at the end of the Campaign how far I had succeeded in the performance of these services, and others Your Majesty's commands, which is humbly set forth in the following Report:

"The Act of Parliament for disarming the Highlanders being one of the last in the Session which received your Royal assent, and some time being requisite to prepare the proper powers conformable to the said Act; it was the middle of June before I could arrive at Edinburgh to give the necessary orders for assembling the troops, which were to form the camp at Inverness by the first of July. The six companies of Highlanders that had been ordered to be raised, were compleat, in

good order, and in readiness to take the field, with the four Battalions of Foot appointed for that service. The ship with amunition and ordinance stores was daily expected from London; ovens were building at Inverness to bake amunition bread for the Soldiers; and 40,000 weight of biscuit was provided for the support of the troops in their marches into the mountains. I presume it was in a great measure owing to these preparations, that several of the Chiefs of the Highland Clans, sent to me, even before my departure from Edinburgh, assuring me they would peaceably surrender their arms, pay a dutiful obedience to your Majesty's commands, and a punctual compliance to the Disarming Act.

"At this time the inhabitants of Edinburgh, and other towns in the Low Country were loudly exclaiming against the Malt Tax, which was to take place in a few days. Seditious Pamphlets were printed and dispersed through the country, comparing their slavery to that of the Israelites under the Egyptian Bondage; that England had loaded them with burdens too heavy for them to bear; and that they were betrayed by the treacherous actings of their own Representatives. The Magistrates of Edinburgh were exclaimed against, and insulted for the zeal they had shewn in suppressing and discouraging tumultuous proceedings, and requiring a due obedience to the law.

"The inhabitants of Glasgow were still more outrageous, declaring publickly in the streets, that they would not submit to a Malt Tax, insulting the Officers of Excise, and threatening to stone them if they attempted to enter their Malt Houses; for which purpose they had piled up heaps of stones at the doors, to shew them what they might expect if they proceeded

in the execution of that law. Messengers and letters were sent from Glasgow to most of the considerable towns in the Low Country, exciting them not to submit to this new imposition; but to follow the example of Glasgow, who were determined to suffer all extremities rather than comply with the payment of this insupportable Tax, as they were pleased to term it; and it was reported publickly at that time in Sterling, Perth, and Edinburgh, that the house of Daniel Campbell, Esq. Member of Parliament for Glasgow (who was represented to have been one of the Chief promoters of this Law) was to be plundered on the day the Malt Tax was to take place.

"I was at this time at Edinburgh, preparing to set out for the Highlands, to proceed in the executing of Your Majesty's commands, when the Commissioners of Excise represented to me, that several of their officers had been insulted at Glasgow, and threatened with their lives, some of them forced to quit the town in disguise, and others to hide themselves in obscure places, desiring I would immediately order some of Your Majesty's troops to march thither to protect them against the rage and fury of the populace.

"I had the honour to represent to your Majesty, before I went to Scotland the necessity there was of having troops quartered at Glasgow, to prevent the disorders that might probably happen in that town on occasion of the malt duty, and your Majesty was pleased to order that 5 Companies should be sent thither from Berwick, as soon as the Regiment arrived to relieve that garrison; but they being retarded in their march by the floods, occasioned by great rains that fell about that time, I gave the directions for the

speedy march of two of the five companies of Delerain's Regiment then quartered at Edinburgh, with orders to be aiding and assisting to the Civil Magistrate, and to protect the officers of your Majesty's custom and excise, in the execution of their duty. These companies were commanded by Capt. Bushell a careful and diligent officer, who marched with great expedition, and arrived at Glasgow the day following at six in the evening, being the 24th of June, the day in which, by Act of Parliament, the Malt Tax was to take place in Scotland.

"At their entrance into the town, the mob assembled in the streets, throwing stones and dirt at the soldiers, giving them reproachful language, and seemed to shew great contempt for the smallness of their numbers, (which was only an hundred and ten men,) saying they were but a breakfast to them, and that they should soon repent coming thither. The Guard-room was locked up, and the key taken away by the populace. The Captain bore these insults with patience, and sent for a Civil Magistrate; but none could be found to assist in dispersing the rabble, and tho' the Provost had sent billets for quartering the soldiers, the inhabitants for the most part refused to receive them into their houses. They increasing in their number, went to the house of Mr. Daniel Campbell, Member of Parliament, broke it open, and began to plunder it with great rage and fury. The Captain, as soon as he had notice of it, sent to the chief magistrate, offering him his assistance in dispersing them. He answered, that he thanked him for his offer, but thought his number insufficient; so that the mob continued their outrages all that night and part of

the day following: plundering and destroying the house and gardens without molestation.

"The next morning, the Provost ordered the guard to be broke open, and gave the Captain possession of it, who posted a guard there of an officer and thirty men.

"About three in the afternoon, drums were beat about the streets by women, or men in women's cloaths, as a signal to assemble the mob, who got together in greater numbers than before. The Captain, not knowing what mischief they intended, ordered all his men to repair to the guard; but the mob did not long keep their secret, for they advanced thro' the several streets that led to the guard-house, saying, Their next business was the soldiers, and crying: 'Drive the dogs out of the town;—we will cut them to pieces.' The Captain, apprehensive that their first intention was to disarm him, drew out his men, and posted them in four divisions, facing the streets thro' which the mob advanced; who, as soon as they approached, without the least provocation, threw stones at the soldiers in such quantities, and of so large a size, that they wounded and bruised several of the men. The Captain spoke to them very calmly, telling them he was not come there to do them any harm, or hurt a hair of their heads, desiring them earnestly to retire, lest it should not be in his power to hinder the soldiers from firing on them. To which some of them answered, 'Return your men to the guard, and then we will retire.' The Captain in hopes to appease them, ordered his men to face about, and return to the guard house. Their backs were no sooner turned, but the stones showered in upon them in greater quantities than

before, wounded and bruised many of them, broke several of their bayonets and locks of their musquets, and put them into such disorder, that they retired into the guard-room for shelter. The Captain, fearing they would disarm him, ordered the soldiers to advance again into the streets; and being attacked as they come out, the soldiers then fired and killed and wounded several of them. They dispersed for some small time, but returned in greater rage and fury, and brought with them all the fire arms they could find in the town, and distributed to their men a barrel of powder belonging to the two companies, which they had seized on their first coming to attack the guard. The Provost, apprehending the rage the populace were in might occasion greater mischiefs than what had already happened, sent to Captain Bushel, desiring him, for his safety, and to avoid further bloodshed, to retire out of the town; otherways, he and all his men would probably be murdered. The Captain took his advice, and retreated to Dumbarton Castle, ten miles distant; being followed part of the way by some hundreds of the mob, which obliged him to fire some shot in the rear, to secure his retreat. There were of the town's people eight killed on the spot, besides nineteen who were wounded, two or three of which are since dead.

"Of the soldiers, there were six missing, who, being disabled by the wounds and bruises they received in the riot, could not march with the companies to Dumbarton. Two of them, who fell into the hands of the mob, were inhumanly treated and left for dead; but, in some time after, they all recovered and returned to the regiment. The shoes, stockings and linnen belonging to the two companies, which were left in the town when

they retreated, were plundered by the people; and, tho' application has since been made to the Magistrates, they never could obtain any reparation.

"As soon as the account of this riot came to my knowledge, I held it absolutely necessary to take such measures as might hinder the infection's spreading to Edinburgh and the other towns, who had been excited to follow the example of Glasgow. Orders were immediately sent to the Earl of Stair's and Colonell Campbell's dragoons, to take up their horses from grass; the first to march to the neighbourhood of Glasgow, and the latter to Edinburgh. I likewise took the liberty to order five companies of Colonel Clayton's Regiment from the garrison of Berwick, to march and join the five companies of Delorain's Regiment, who were then advanced as far as Edinburgh on their way to Glasgow, pursuant to Your Majesty's former orders. Two of the four Regiments who had received orders to march to the camp at Inverness, were countermanded, and quartered at Aberdeen, Dundee, and other populous towns, who had openly declared against paying the Malt Duty. Stabling was fitted up for 100 dragoons to patrole in the suburbs of Edinburgh, and forage was with great difficulty provided for them, the farmers and others in that neighbourhood (as it were by a common consent) refusing to sell their hay to the officers of the dragoons. Several disorders were committed in other parts of the country; the officers of Your Majesty's Customs and Excise were often insulted in the execution of their duty; confiscated goods rescued out of their hands; and the soldiers who assisted them, if their numbers were small, were overpowered and disarmed by the populace; and it was reported that the people

of Glasgow threatened to oppose any troops that should be sent thither to reduce them to obedience.

"These disturbances in the Low Country determined me to defer the execution of Your Majesty's commands in the Highlands, till I should receive directions from their Excellencies the Lords Justices, to whom I had transmitted a particular account of the Glasgow riot, and of the disorders that were likely to happen at Edinburgh and other towns, in opposition to the Malt Duty. The remissness of the Magistrates of Glasgow and other considerable towns (that of Edinburgh excepted) by discountenancing or endeavouring to suppress these tumultuous proceedings, gave too much reason to suspect their adhering to the sentiments of the populace; and the military had no legal power of acting but under their authority, either for the support of the revenue, or to prevent a general commotion which threatened that part of Your Majesty's dominions.

"About this time, I received information from Brigadier Grove, who was encamped with two Battalions in the Highlands, that three Russian Men of War, and some other ships, supposed to be transports, appeared on the North West coast, between the Isle of Lewis and the land, and came to an anchor at a port in that island, two leagues south of Stornoway. Some of the officers that commanded them were of the British or Irish Nation, and had formerly served in the English Navy; but, by their conversation appeared to be disaffected to Your Majesty's Government. Their lading was naval stores, iron guns, and small arms: the mariners were for the most part Russians. They continued there ten days; and, on the twenty fifth of June, proceeded on

their voyage to Spain. I have never heard that they landed either arms or amunition, during their continuance on that coast; tho' I have sent several times to procure information in that particular.

"Having transmitted to Your Majesty's Principal Secretary of State an account of these transactions, their excellencies the Lords Justices immediately ordered the Lord Carpenter's Regiment to march to Scotland; and highly resenting the riotous and tumultuous proceedings at Glasgow, sent me their commands to march thither with a body of Your Majesty's troops sufficient to assist the civil power in bringing the rioters to justice. Your Majesty's Advocate also received their excellencies orders to go thither in person, whose vigilance and activity might be depended on to supply the misbehaviour or want of resolution in the magistrates of that town, to enquire into their past conduct, and the reason of their absenting themselves from their duty, at a time when their presence was most necessary to preserve the peace of the city. The troops assembled for this purpose were the Earl of Stair's regiment of dragoons, four troops of Colonel Campbell's dragoons, the Earl of Deloraine's regiment of foot, and the new-raised Highland company commanded by Sir Duncan Campbell, with four field pieces, and eight cohorn mortars. Colonel Clayton with five companies of his regiment, two troops of Campbell's dragoons, with two of the Highland companies, remained at Edinburgh, and it was thought necessary for the peace of the city, that Your Majesty's sollicitor should remain there during the absence of the Lord Advocate. The troops, being assembled in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, marched into the town on the ninth of July, without

the least disturbance or opposition, the soldiers punctually observing the orders I had given them, not to exasperate the inhabitants by reproaching them for having attacked and insulted the two companies who remained still at Dunbarton, lest their presence might excite the people to revenge. Quarters were provided by the magistrates, and the excise officers re-established, and admitted to survey the malt-houses without clamour or complaint, but, on the contrary, treated with great civility.

" As soon as the Advocate had procured information of such of the Rioters who had not absconded from the town, he issued out warrants for apprehending them. They were seized by small parties of the regular troops, and committed prisoners to the town gaol, and no disorders happened thereupon.

" The Advocate proceeded afterwards to examine into the conduct of the magistrates; and, finding they had notoriously neglected their duty, thought fit likewise to committ them prisoners, and parties were ordered to guard both them and the rioters to Edinburgh.

" The peace of the town being thus established, a sufficient garrison was left there in order to preserve it; and the rest of the troops sent to quarter in towns, where there might be occasion for their presence to support and protect the officers of Your Majesty's revenue.

" At my return to Edinburgh I found there had been a combination carried on by the brewers and maltsters of that town to leave off brewing, and thereby distress and enrage the people, by the scarcity of bread and beer, which such a practice would occasion; pretend-

ing that the malt tax was so heavy on them, that they could not continue their trade, but to their own loss and disadvantage; and the Magistrates of Glasgow were admitted to bail soon after their arrival. At their return to that town, they were met by great numbers of the Kirk, riding on each side their coach, and the bells ringing, with other demonstrations of joy.

"All endeavours were used at Edinburgh to spirit up the people, by giving countenance to those who had opposed the Tax. The Magistrates of Glasgow, and even the Rioters, were looked on as sufferers for the liberty of their country; but the guards being doubled, and constant patroles of dragoons kept in the streets, the populace thought it unsafe to have recourse to their old practice of riots and tumults; and the Brewers and Maltsters chose rather to refuse the payment of the Tax, and to commit the defence of their cause to Advocates, who, they had reason to believe, were of their own sentiments.

"The troops being disposed of in all the considerable towns in the Low Country, and the Justice General on his way to Edinburgh, to be present to carry on the prosecutions against those who had acted in opposition to the law, I determined no longer to defer my journey to the Highlands, but to proceed with all possible expedition to the camp at Inverness, in order to execute Your Majesty's commands in those parts.

"Colonel Kirk's regiment, and the Highland companies, were ordered to join the camp, which, with Grove's, and Whetham's regiment, made a body of three battalions, six Highland companies, and fifty dragoons.

"The regiment of Macartney, which was likewise

intended for the camp, remained in quarters at Aberdeen, and other considerable towns on the East Coast, who had refused the payment of the malt duty; but continued in a readiness to march and join the forces, if occasion required. The troops at Edinbugh, and other parts of the Low Country being left under the command of Colonel Campbell, I set out from Edinburgh the first day of August, and, for the greater expedition, embarked on board Your Majesty's ship the Rose, the wind being then favourable; but, soon after proving contrary, and continuing so for four days, I was obliged to land on the coast of Angus, and proceed by land to the camp at Inverness, where I arrived the tenth of August.

"I was glad to find the disturbances in the Low Country had not influenced the Highlanders to depart from the promises they had made me, peaceably to surrender their arms. The Laird of the M'Kenzies, and other Chiefs of the Clans and Tribes, tenents to the late Earl of Seaforth, came to me in a body, to the number of about fifty, and assured me that both they and their followers were ready to pay a dutiful obedience to Your Majesty's commands, by a peaceable surrender of their arms; that if Your Majesty would be graciously pleased to procure them an indemnity for the rents that had been misapplied for the time past, they would for the future become faithful snbjects to Your Majesty, and pay them to Your Majesty's Receiver for the use of the publick. I assured them of Your Majesty's gracious intentions towards them, and that they might rely on Your Majesty's bounty and clemency, provided they would merit it by their future good conduct and peaceable behaviour; that I had

Your Majesty's commands to send the first summons to the country they inhabited; which would soon give them an opportunity of shewing the sincerity of their promises, and of having the merit to set example to the rest of the Highlands, who in their turns were to be summoned to deliver up their arms, pursuant to the Disarming Act; that they might choose the place they themselves thought most convenient to surrender their arms; and that I would answer, that neither their persons nor their property should be molested by Your Majesty's troops.—They desired they might be permitted to deliver up their arms at the Castle of Brahan, the principal seat of their late Superior, who, they said, had promoted and encouraged them to this their submission; but begged that none of the Highland Companies might be present; for, as they had always been reputed the bravest, as well as the most numerous of the Northern Clans, they thought it more consistent with their honour to resign their arms to Your Majesty's veteran troops;—to which I readily consented.

"Summonses were accordingly sent to the several Clans and Tribes, the inhabitants of eighteen parishes, who were vassals or tenents of the late Earl of Seaforth, to bring or send in all their arms and warlike weapons to the Castle of Brahan, on or before the twenty eight of August.

"About this time menacing letters were sent me by the post from Edinburgh, to intimidate me from proceeding in the execution of the Disarming Act; papers were printed there by the Jacobites, and messengers sent to disperse them through the Highlands, in hopes to excite them to resistance, denying the

power of Parliament, telling them the Act was in its own nature against the laws of God and Man, and not fit to be executed upon Barbarians; and that, when they had surrendered their arms, they were to be extirpated, or at best be sent into Captivity.

These artifices had no influence on the Chiefs of Clans, who depended on the assurances I had given them, that no severity should be used in the execution of the powers granted by the Disarming Act; that it was Your Majesty's intention they should be treated with kindness and humanity, provided the peace of the country was secured by preventing the frequent disorders occasioned by the practice of wearing arms.

On the twenty fifth of August I went to the Castle of Brahan, with a detachment of two hundred of the Regular Troops, and was met there by the Chiefs of the several Clans and Tribes, who assured me they had used their utmost diligence in collecting all the arms they were possessed of, which should be brought thither on the saturday following, pursuant to the summons they had received; and telling me they were apprehensive of insults or depredations from the neighbouring Clans of the Camerons, and others who still continued in possession of their arms. Parties of the Highland Companies were ordered to guard the passes leading to their country; which parties continued there for their protection, till the Clans in that neighbourhood were summoned, and had surrendered their arms.

"On the day appointed, the several Clans and Tribes assembled in the adjacent villages, and marched in good order through the great avenue that leads to the Castle; and one after another laid down their arms in the Court Yard, in great quiet and decency, amounting to

784 of the several species mentioned in the Act of Parliament.

"The solemnity with which this was performed, had undoubtedly a great influence over the rest of the Highland Clans; and disposed them to pay that obedience to Your Majesty's commands, by a peaceable surrender of their arms, which they had never done to any of your Royal Predecessors, or in compliance with any law either before or since the Union.

"The next summons were sent to the Clans and countries in the neighbourhood of Killyhuimen and Fort William. The arms of the several Clans of the M'Donalds of Glengary, M'Leods of Glenelg, Chisholms of Strathglass, and Grants of Glenmoriston, were surrendered to me at the Barrack of Killyhuimen, the fifteenth of September; and those of the M'Donalds of Keppoch, Moidart, Aresaig, and Glenco; as also the Camerons, and Stewarts of Appin, were delivered to the Governor of Fort William. The M'Intoshes were summoned, and brought in their arms to Inverness; and the followers of the Duke of Gordon, with the Clan of M'Phersons, to the Barrack of Ruthven in Badenoch.

"The inhabitants of the isles of Skye and Mull were also summoned; the M'Donalds, M'Kinnons, and M'Leods delivered their arms at the Barrack of Bernera; and those of the Isle of Mull, to the officer commanding at Castle Duart, both on the first day of October.

"The regiments remained till that time encamped at Inverness; and this service was performed by sending detachments from the Camp to the several parts of the Highlands appointed for the surrender of arms. Amu-

hition bread was regularly delivered to the soldiers; and biscuits to the detachments that were sent into the mountains. The camp was plentifully supplied with provisions, and an Hospital in the town provided for the sick men. This contributed to preserve the soldiers in health; so that notwithstanding the excessive bad weather and continued rains that fell during the campaign, there died of the three regiments no more than ten soldiers:—but the weather growing cold, and the snow falling in the mountains, obliged me to break up the Camp, and send the troops into winter quarters.

The new-raised companies of Highlanders were for some time encamped with the Regular Troops, performing the duty of the camp with the rest of the soldiers. They mounted guard, went out upon parties, had the Articles of War read and explained to them, and were regularly paid with the rest of the troops. When they had made some progress in their exercise and discipline, they were sent to their respective stations with proper orders; as well to prevent the Highlanders from returning to the use of arms, as to hinder their committing depredations on the Low Country.

"The Lord Lovat's Company was posted to guard all the passes in the mountains, from the Isle of Skye eastward, as far as Inverness; the company of Colonel Grant in the several passes from Inverness southward to Dunkeld; Sir Duncan Campbell's company, from Dunkeld westward, as far as the Country of Lorn. The three companies commanded by Lieutenants were posted, the first at Fort William; the second at Killyhuimen; and the third at Ruthven in Badenoch; and

may in a short time be assembled in a body, to march to any part of the Highlands as occasion may require.

" The orders given to the officers commanding the Highland Companies relating to their future conduct, Your Majesty will find annexed to this report.

" The Clans of the Northern Highlands having peaceably surrendered their arms, pursuant to the several summonses sent them in Your Majesty's name, and consequently exposed to the inroads of their neighbours, to prevent this inconvenience, (tho' the season of the year was far advanced) I thought it both just and necessary to proceed to disarm the Southern Clans, who had also joined in the Rebellion, and thereby to finish the campaign by summoning all the Clans and countries who had taken up arms against Your Majesty in the year 1715.

" Summonses were accordingly sent to the inhabitants of the Brea of Mar, Perth, Athol, Braidalbin, Menteith, and those parts of the shire of Stirling and Dumbarton included in the Disarming Act. Parties of the Regular Troops were ordered to march from the nearest garrisons to several places appointed for the surrender of their arms, and circular letters were sent to the principal gentlemen in those parts, exciting them to follow the example of the northern Highlands. The Clans of these countries brought in their arms on the days and at the places appointed by their respective summonses, but not in so great a quantity as the Northern Clans had done. The Gentlemen assured me they had given strict orders to their Tenants to bring in all the arms they had in their possession; but that many of them, knowing they were not to be paid for them, as

stipulated by the former act, several had been carried to the forges, and turned into working tools and other peaceable instruments; there being no prohibition by the Act of Parliament to hinder them from disposing of them in any manner they thought most to their advantage provided they had no arms in their possession, after the day mentioned in the summons; and if the informations I have received are true, the same thing has been practised, more or less, by all the Clans that have been summoned pursuant to the present Act of Parliament, which makes no allowance for arms delivered up, in order to prevent the notorious frauds and abuses committed by those who had the execution of the former act, whereby Your Majesty paid near 13,000 *l.* for broken and useless arms, that were hardly worth the expence of carriage.

"The number of arms collected this year in the Highlands, of the several species mentioned in the Disarming Act, amount in the whole to 2685. The greatest part of them are deposited in the Castle of Edinburgh, and the rest at Fort William, and the Barrack of Bernera. At the time they were brought in by the Clans, there was a mixture of good and bad; but the damage they received in the carriage, and growing rusty by being exposed to rain, they are of little more worth than the value of the iron.

"In the execution of the power given me by Your Majesty, to grant licences to such persons whose business or occupation required the use of arms for their safety and defence, I have given out in the whole 230 licences to the Forresters, Drovers, and Dealers in Cattle, and other merchandize, belonging to the several clans who have surrendered their arms, which are to

remain in force for two years, provided they behave themselves during that time as faithful subjects to Your Majesty, and peaceably towards their neighbours. The names of the persons empowered to wear arms by these licences are entered in a book, as also the names of the Gentlemen by whom they were recommended, and who have promised to be answerable for their good behaviour.

" The several summonses for the surrender of arms have been affixed to the doors of 129 parish churches, on the market crosses of the county towns; and copies of the same regularly entered in the Sheriff's books in the method prescribed by the Disarming Act, by which these Highlanders who shall presume to wear arms without a legal Qualification, are subject to the penalties of that Law which has already had so good an effect, that, instead of guns, swords, durks, and pistols, they now travel to their Churches, Markets, and Fairs with only a staff in their hands. Since the Highland Companies have been posted at their respective stations, several of the most notorious thieves have been seized on and committed to prison, some of which are now under prosecution, but others, either by the corruption or negligence of the Jailers, have been set at liberty, or suffered to make their escape.

" The imposition commonly called black-meal is now no longer paid by the inhabitants bordering on the Highlands; and robberies and depredations, formerly complained of, are less frequently attempted than has been known for many years past, there having been but one single instance where cattle have been stolen, without being recovered and returned to their proper owners.

"At my first coming to the Highlands, I caused an exact survey to be taken of the Lakes, and that part of the country lying between Inverness and Fort William, which extends from the East to the West Sea, in order to render the communication more practicable; and materials were provided for the vessel which, by Your Majesty's commands was to be built on the Lake Ness; which is now finished and launched into the Lake. It is made in the form of a Gally, either for rowing or sailing; is capable of carrying a party of 50 or 60 soldiers to any part of the country bordering on the said Lake; and will be of great use for transporting provisions and ammunition from Inverness to the barrack of Killyhuimen, where four companies of foot have been quartered since the beginning of last October.

"I presume also to acquaint Your Majesty, that parties of regular troops have been constantly employed in making the roads of communication between Killyhuimen and Fort William, who have already made so good a progress in that work, that I hope, before the end of next summer, they will be rendered both practicable and convenient for the march of Your Majesty's forces between those garrisons, and facilitate their assembling in one body, if occasion should require.

"The fortifications and additional barracks, which, by Your Majesty's commands were to be erected at Inverness and Killyhuimen, are the only part of Your Majesty's Instructions which I have not been able to put in execution. There were no persons in that part of the Highlands of sufficient credit or knowledge to contract for a work of so extensive a nature. The stone must be cut out of the quarries; nor could the timber be provided sooner than by sending to Norway

to purchase it; and, although the materials had been ready and at hand, the excessive rains, that fell during the whole summer season, must have rendered it impossible to have carried on the work. I have, however, contracted for the necessary repairs of the old Castle at Inverness, which I am promised will be finished before next Winter.

" I humbly beg leave to observe to Your Majesty, that nothing has contributed more to the success of my endeavours in disarming the Highlands, and in reducing the vassals of the late Earl of Seaforth to Your Obedience, than the power Your Majesty was pleased to grant me of receiving the submissions of persons attainted of High Treason. They were dispersed in different part of the Highlands, without the least apprehension of being betrayed or molested by their countrymen, and, for their safety and protection, must have contributed all they were able to encourage the use of arms, and to infect the minds of those people on whose protection they depended. In this situation, they were proper instruments, and always ready to be employed in promoting the interest of the Pretender, or any other foreign power they thought capable of contributing to a change in that Government to which they had forfeited their lives, and from whom they expected no favour. The greatest part of them were drawn into the rebellion at the instigation of their Superiors, and, in my humble opinion, have continued their diaffection, rather from despair than any real dislike to Your Majesty's Government; for it was no sooner known, that Your Majesty had empowered me to receive the Submissions of those who repented of their crimes, and were willing and desirous for the

future to live peaceably under Your mild and moderate government, but applications were to me from several of them to intercede with Your Majesty on their behalf declaring their readiness to abandon the Pretender's party, and to pay a dutiful obedience to Your Majesty; to which I answered, that I should be ready to intercede in their favour, when I was farther convinced of the sincerity of their promises; that it would soon come to their turn to be summoned to bring in their arms; and, when they had paid that first mark of their obedience, by peaceably surrendering them, I should thereby be better justified in receiving their submissions, and in recommending them to Your Majesty's mercy and clemency.

"As soon as their respective clans had delivered up their arms, several of these attainted persons came to me at different times and places to render their submissions to Your Majesty. They laid down their swords on the ground, expressed their sorrow and concern for having made use of them in opposition to Your Majesty; and promised a peaceful and dutiful obedience for the remaining part of their lives. They afterwards sent me their several letters of submission, copies of which I transmitted to Your Majesty's Principal Secretary of State.

"I made use of the proper arguments to convince them of their past folly and rashness, and gave them hopes of obtaining pardon from Your Majesty's gracious and merciful disposition; but, being a stranger both to their persons and character, I required they would procure Gentlemen of unquestioned zeal to Your Majesty's Government, who would write to me in

their favour, and in some measure be answerable for their future conduct——which was accordingly done.

"When the news came that Your Majesty was graciously pleased to accept their submission, and had given the proper orders for preparing their pardons, it was received with great joy and satisfaction throughout the Highlands, which occasioned the Jacobites at Edinburgh to say, (by way of reproach), that I had not only defrauded the Highlanders of their arms, but had also debauched them from their loyalty and allegiance.

"I humbly beg leave to assure Your Majesty, that in the execution of these Your commands, I have acted with the utmost application, diligence and frugality. The extraordinary expence of encamping the Troops, carriage of arms, ammunition and provisions, building the vessel on the Lake Ness, carrying on the road of communication, sending 148 summonses to the several parishes and county towns, gratuities, intelligence, and other contingent charges, expended this year, does not exceed in the whole the sum of 2000*l.* But as the Highlanders are a people subject to change, and return to their former practices, a further expence will be requisite to retain them in their duty and obedience.

"That a Barrack for five companies of foot be built at Inverness on the ground where the old Castle now stands, with convenient lodgings for the Governour and other officers; and that the fortifications there be put in a posture of defence.

"That a Fort be erected at Killyhuimen, near the End of the Lake Ness, and a Barrack built there for quartering four companies, with a line of communication extending to the Old Barrack, which is able to

contain six companies more, and, if it is His Majesty's pleasure, that the officer commanding the troops in the Highlands should reside there as Governour, A house must be built for his quarters, as also a store-room, capable of holding provisions for a regiment of foot, and a prison for securing malefactors, or persons found in possession of arms, in contempt of the Act of Parliament.

"That small *Towers* of stone work, such as are usually built in the middle of a redoubt, be erected at each end of the Lake Lochie, capable of quartering an officer and twenty soldiers, and a small boat for transporting provisions or ammunition by way of the Lake.

"That a Tower of the same kind be built at each end of the Lake Ness; and that a Kay or Harbour be built at each end of the Lake, for the security of the Highland Galley.

"That a salary be provided for the subsistance of a Master and two sailors to serve on board the said vessel.

"That a sum be provided annually for making the roads of communication; and a salary for the person employed as Inspector for carrying on so necessary a work.

"When these works are finished, if it is His Majesty's pleasure to create a Governor at Killyhnimen, the garrisons of Fort William and Inverness might be commanded by deputy Governors subject to his orders.

"For the better quartering of His Majesty's Infantry in the Low Country of Scotland, as well as to secure them against the Insults of the Populace in times of a general dissatisfaction, (as happened the last year, on occasion of the malt duty), I presume humbly to pro-

pose, that Barracks be provided for such companies who may be quartered in large and populous towns, for example, the Regiment whose station is in the S. West part of Scotland, may have their head quarters at Glasgow, in a Barrack capable of containing five companies; and the other five may be sent severally to Air, Irwin, Hammiltoun, Dunbarton, or any other adjacent towns, for the protection and support of the officers of His Majesty's Revenue; and may be able in a short time, as occasion shall require, to join the regiment at the Head-quarters. The same thing may be done at Edinburgh, Perth, and Dundee. This will secure them against the danger, (which tho' very unlikely to happen, may probably succeed if attempted), *viz.* That if the matter is concerted, his Majesty's troops, when scattered in separate quarters, are in the power of the People, and liable, in times of universal discontent, to be all disarmed by the inhabitants in one night's time.

"It is likewise absolutely necessary that a Frigate, or Sloop of some force, should be ordered to cruize on the North West coast, to prevent as much as possible, the correspondence that has been for many years past carried on between the emissaries of the Pretender and the Highlanders; to get intelligence of any Russian or other foreign ships that may appear on the coast, or take harbour in the Islands; and to procure information of arms or ammunition that may be brought thither from foreign parts, to be employed against the Government.

"All which is most humbly represented and submitted to Your Majesty's Royal Consideration.

(Signed) "GEORGE WADE."

"London, 31 January, 1725."

" *Instructions to the Officers commanding the Highland Companies.*

" George Wade Esquire, Major General and Commander in Chief of all His Majesty's forces, castles, forts and barracks in North Britain, &c.

" His Majesty having been graciously pleased to take into his Royal Consideration the sufferings of his good subjects inhabiting the Highlands of Scotland, and countries bordering thereon, and to grant them protection from the too frequent oppressions of outlaws and robberies, who, by carrying arms contrary to Law, are enabled to commit robberies and depredations, to raise illegal exactions, on his people, and to disturb the peace and quiet of the country;—to put a stop to such disorders for the future, His Majesty has thought fit to cause Companies of Highlanders to be established for the safety and protection of his peaceable and faithful subjects; and as he has been pleased to give you the command of one of the said Companies, you are carefully to observe and follow the Orders and Directions hereunder mentioned:

1st.

" You are to march the Company under your command from the camp at Inverness, and take under your protection all the country to the North of Lochaber and the Lake Ness, taking care to guard the passes of of Strathlony, Gleniffen, Gusichan, Vlenstrath, Farrar, and the Brays of Urquhart, and also the Brays of

Stratherick and Strathnairn, on the south of Inverness; and you are to keep a correspondence with any other of the Highland Companies nearest to your districts, in order to assist each other as occasion may require.

2dly.

" You are from time to time to send parties to such places within your District, as may secure that part of the country which you shall judge to be most exposed; and in this you are to act impartially, and equally to give assistance and protection to all His Majesty's good and faithful subjects, without regard to private animosities or party quarrels.

3dly.

" You are to use your endeavour to procure the earliest information of all robberies and depredations that may be committed within the District above-mentioned; to cause the cattle or other effects you can recover to be returned to their proper owners, and to seize the Criminals in order to their being prosecuted according to Law.

4thly.

" You are to be careful in procuring informations of the names, haunts, and retreats of all robbers, outlaws, and any who have been accustomed to commit depredations in the Countries or Districts committed to your care, whom you are to pursue and endeavour to seize, and cause them to be brought before one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, in order to their commitment and prosecution

5thly.

" You are to endeavour to get information of any arms or warlike weapons that may have been concealed by any persons belonging to the Clans who have been summoned to deliver up their arms according to Law; and if any person or persons shall be found carrying arms who are not qualified or authorized by licence to keep such arms in their possession; you are to proceed against such person or persons in the manner prescribed by the Act of Parliament in that behalf of the 11th year of His Majesty's reign, taking care to avoid partiality or acting with too much rigour and severity; that way of proceeding being most conformable to His Majesty's gracious intentions.

6thly.

" You are to endeavour to detect all popish priests who may have been sent from foreign parts, or others who are employed to infect the minds of the people with the pernicious principles of Popery and Disaffection, or to seduce His Majesty's subjects from their allegiance; and, when you have found any such dangerous persons, you are to cause them to be brought before one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace, in order to their being prosecuted as the Law directs.

7thly.

" You are to give strict orders to the officers and soldiers belonging to your company to seize and apprehend all deserters from any of the Regiments quartered in or near the Highlands, or whom they have just reason to suspect to have deserted His Majesty's ser-

vice; and the officer commanding such Regiment or Company from whom such soldier or soldiers did desert, is hereby required on delivery of such deserter or deserters, to give two guineas per man as a gratuity for their trouble and charge.

8thly.

"You are to take no soldiers into your Company who are known to have been guilty of notorious Crimes, or are suspected of disaffection to His Majesty's Government.

9thly.

"You are to keep your company compleat, to preserve good order and discipline, to make regular payments to the non-commissioned officers and soldiers, as the Act of Parliament directs; and you are to provide them with such clothing, and at such times, as is mentioned in my former orders of the 15th of May, 1725.

10thly.

"You are to send lists of the Company every four months to the officer commanding the troops quartered in the Highlands, viz. on the first of January, the first of May, and the first of September, the Number of their Badges to be put before each man's name; and, when you have cause to change any of your Men, or to fill up vacancies, you are to give the badge to the man who succeeds, and remark on the back of the List the changes that have been made in your company since the date of the preceding return, with the reason of such alteration.

11thly.

" You are to cause your men punctually to pay their quarters, and use your best endeavours to prevent their committing disorders, and injuring or insulting the people of the country; and to be particularly careful in assisting such who have peaceably delivered up their arms, and are thereby intitled to protection.

12thly.

" You are strictly to observe these, as well as my former orders of the 15th of May last; and also all such orders and directions as you shall from time to time receive from the officer commanding the troops in the Highlands, or from the Governors of Inverness or Fort-William.

" And all Magistrates, Justices of the Peace, Constables, and others whom they may concern, are hereby required to be aiding and assisting in providing quarters, pressing of carriages, and otherwise, as there shall be occasion.

" Given in the Camp at Inverness, this 22d of Sept. 1725.

(Signed) " GEORGE WADE,"

" To the Right Hon. the Lord Lovat,
or the Officer commanding his
Company of Highlanders."

The Officers commanding the rest of the Highland Companies have the same instructions, excepting that the names of their different posts and stations are therein specified.

The Form of a Summons, as affixed to the several Parish Churches and Head-Boroughs.

[The under-written was sent to the Estate of the late Earl of Seaforth.]

"To all and every the Clans of the M'Kenzies, M'Ras, Murchiessons, M'Lays, M'Lennans, Mathewsons, M'Aulays, Morrisons, M'Leods, and all other Clans and persons liable by Act of Parliament to be disarmed within the limits of that part of the Estate formerly belonging to the late Earl of Seaforth, in the parishes of Dingwell, Urquhart, Collycudden, Rosemarky, Avoch, Suddy, Kilmure Wester, Killurnon, Luggy Wester, Urray, Coutan, Totterery, Kintail, Loch Caron, Garloch, Loch Breyn, and Assint, and to all other persons inhabiting or being within the parishes, lands, limits, and boundings above-mentioned:

"By GEORGE WADE, Esq. &c.

"In His Majesty's Name, and in pursuance of the power and authority to me given by his Majesty, under his Royal Sign Manual, by virtue of an Act of Parliament intitled 'An Act for more effectually disarming the Highlanders in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, and for the better securing the peace and quiet of that part of the Kingdom,' I do hereby strictly require and command you and every of you, on (or before) Saturday the 28th day of August, to bring or send to the Castle of Brahan all your Broad Swords, Targets, Poynards, Whingars, or Durks, Side-pistol, or Pistols, Guns, or any other warlike weapons, and then and there to deliver up to me or the officer commanding at the said castle of Brahan, as is above-mentioned, all and singular your arms and warlike

weapons, for the use of His Majesty, his heirs and successors, and to be disposed of in such manner as His Majesty, his heirs and successors shall appoint; and by so doing, you will avoid the pains and penalties by the said act directed to be inflicted on all persons who shall presume to refuse, or neglect to pay a due obedience to the same.

"Given under my hand and seal, at Inverness, this 16th day of August, 1725.

(Signed) "GEORGE WADE."

The Form of a Licence for carrying Arms, by G. WADE, *Esq. &c.*

"In virtue of the power and authority to me given by His Majesty, I do hereby permit and authorize you [A. B.] Drover, or Dealer in Cattle, or other Merchandize, to keep wear and carry with you, upon any your lawful occasions, from the date hereof, to the first of August, 1727, the following weapons: viz. a gun, sword, and pistol; ye behaving in all that time as a faithful subject of his Majesty, and carrying yourself peaceably and quietly towards the people of the country. Dated at Inverness, 18 August, 1725.

(Signed) "GEORGE WADE."

Letters of Submission to his Majesty, from Persons attainted of High Treason, directed to Major-General Wade.

From Mr. Alexander M'Kenzie of Datchmaluach.

"SIR,

"Partly from my own inclination at that time, as well as by the attachment I had to my Superior, I was unfortunately engaged in the late unnatural rebellion, for which I now stand attainted, and my estate some

time ago confiscated, and sold, according to Law, having nothing left but my life: and as the Clan to which I belong has peaceably delivered up their arms, and, I hope, will become as faithful subjects to His Majesty King George, as they have been faithful servants to their late master Seaforth, I humbly beg you will be so good to lay this my submission before His Majesty, and assure him he shall not have a more faithful subject in all his dominions, if he is graciously pleased to pardon me for what is past.—We have all sufficiently seen through our follies; and for my own part, I both heartily and willingly renounce the Pretender's interest.

"Sir, the goodness you shew to all mankind, which certainly is the best method can be taken to make friends for so good a prince as you serve, has emboldened me to send you this, and rely on your easy censure for begging this troublesome favour from you, and assuring you, if admitted to live the remaining part of my days in peace (which cannot be many, being in advanced age), that I will not only be a faithful subject to His Majesty King George, but also, whilst living,

"Sir,

"Your most faithful

"and obedient Servant,

"ALEX. M'KENZIE."

"Lochcarn,

"31st August, 1725."

From Mr. George M'Kenzie of Ballamukie.

"SIR,

"I am so sensible of my own error in joining in the late unnatural Rebellion against our gracious Sove-

reign, that if I did not resolve for the future to renounce such bad practices, I would not presume to address one of your character and merit to intercede for me, by laying my unhappy state before His Majesty, in hopes of sharing in that clemency and mercy so inherent to him.—Sir, I own there is none less worthy of it; and that the Government acted very justly in denying me their protection; but, if I may be allowed to say (not with any view to lessen or extenuate my fault) that I have undergone it patiently, and lived quietly, tho' very retired from the world all this time, in the country, I hope it will plead for some little consideration; and as I do with the greatest submission and sincerity acknowledge my guilt; so I pray leave to beg with the greatest earnestness, and in the most humble manner, that you will be pleased to believe me sincere; and that I heartily repent my behaviour in former times towards His Majesty King George, whose gracious clemency in pardoning my life (the only thing I have to plead for), I request in the most earnest and submissive manner, and I do faithfully promise, that my conduct for the future shall in all respects be as a loyal and dutiful subject to him, and to you, as one who owns himself by the greatest ties of gratitude to be,

"Sir,

"Your most obliged

"and most obedient

"humble Servant,

"GEORGE M'KENZIE."

"Strathpeffer,

"31st August, 1725."

From Mr. Roderick M'Kenzie of Fairburn.

"SIR,

"With a true sense of my past miscarriages, I pray leave to address myself to you, and to request your favour towards me in representing my unhappy condition to His Majesty. You know very well, Sir, by my name, that I have the misfortune to be of the number of those persons who have forfeited their protection of the Government, by taking up arms against the best of Kings. It would be presumption in me, rather than a submission, to attempt the lessening my guilt, unless it be some small extenuation of my crime, that we who have the unhappiness to live at so remote a distance from the Court, are most liable to be seduced by the artifices and insinuations of designing men; therefore I shall pray leave to beg with the greatest earnestness, that you would believe me sincere in this, as I truly am; that I heartily repent of my past behaviour towards His Majesty King George; and most humbly and earnestly request to pardon my life; and I do with the greatest sincerity promise to devote the remainder of it to His said Majesty's service, and to endeavour to approve myself to the utmost of my power, as long as I live,

"Sir,

"Your most obliged

"and most obedient

"humble Servant

"ROD: M'KENZIE."

"Monar,

"30th August, 1725."

From Mr. Roderick Chisholm of Strathglass.

"SIR,

"The success your undertakings have always had, has been owing more to your courteous and affable behaviour, than to the terror of arms:—I presume to throw myself under your protection, fully confident that so much goodness cannot decline representing my unhappy case to the best of Kings,—I mean Rebellion, which I now detest; and, Sir, I hope that my repentance will be judged the more solid, that I am now in a mature age; whereas I had not attained to the years of manhood, when unnaturally I allowed myself to be led to bear arms against His Majesty King George. I have disposed my Clan to disarm, and, for myself and them, I promise faithfully henceforward to behave ourselves as becomes dutiful subjects to His Majesty King George, begging in the most profound manner, his most gracious pardon, for my life, (my estate having been sold), which I dare assure myself of from former instances of His Majesty's clemency to those of equal guilt with myself, tho' of the highest nature. Pardon, Sir, this trouble, which your great and universal good character draws upon you; and alter not from yourself in neglecting the distress of one who is proud of being,

"Sir,

"Your most obliged

"and most obedient, &c.

"ROD: CHISHOLM."

"Strathglass,

"30th August, 1725."

From Mr. Robert Stewart of Appin.

"SIR,

"The repeated accounts I have had from some of my best friends, that the King has been graciously pleased to entrust you with powers of accepting the Submissions of such of his subjects in the Highlands as have been attainted of High Treason, in consequence of the late unnatural Rebellion, together with the character you so justly possess, of taking pleasure in acts of humanity to persons in distress, oblige and encourage me to acquaint you that I am one of those unlucky Gentlemen who stand so much in need of His Majesty's clemency, and the generous good offices of friends towards sharing in it. And as the offer of mercy now made must appear to every body, as a most distinguishing proof of His Majesty's Royal compassion for reclaiming his misled subjects; so I beg leave to assure your Excellency, that if I am so happy as by any means to share in it, I shall, from a dutiful sense of so much Royal goodness, ever study the most sincere and grateful acknowledgements. I know not whether you will demand any additional security for my peaceable and dutiful behaviour in time coming to the promise I hereby make; and indeed it may be very difficult for one in my situation to give satisfaction that way;—however, if His Majesty's most gracious intentions cannot otherwise take effect, and that Your Excellency will not upon other terms be prevailed upon to grant protection; I hope I shall be able to satisfy you even in that point. The person who does me the honour to deliver you this will forward your commands

for me; and if the Submission I hereby make be not in such terms as may prove acceptable, I beg you will be so good as give directions in what manner I am to make it, consistent with my personal liberty; and obedience shall be given by,

"Sir,

"Your most faithful, &c.

"ROBERT STEWART."*

"27 August, 1725."

From Mr. Alexander M'Donald† of Glenco.

"SIR,

"Being one of those unfortunate Gentlemen whom the folly of youth, and ignorance, seduced to carry arms in the late unnatural Rebellion against His present Majesty King George; I account myself happy in having the opportunity of begging your Excellency's

* Stewart of Appin did not take the field in 1745; but the clan, who could not be kept at home, was headed by Stewart of Ardsheill.

† The following Supplication of the son of M'Donald of Glenco, who escaped the massacre of his family and kindred, in 1692, must be interesting, on account of the mention made of what took place after that horrible *blood-bath*, which must ever remain an indelible blot in the annals of our country. It was presented in 1695, three years after that detestable transaction:

"Supplication of John Mac Donald of Glencoe, for himself, and in name of Alexander Mac Donald of Achatriechatain, and the poor remanent that is left of that family:—

"Sheweth,

"That, it being now evident to the conviction of the nation how inhumainly, als weil as unchristianly, the deceist Alexander Macdonald of Glencoe, the deceist John Macdonald of Achatriechatan, and too many more of the petitioner's unfortunat family were murdered and butchered in February 1692, against the laws of Nature and Nations, the laws of Hospitality, and the publick faith, by a band of men quartered amongst them, and

compassionate intercession for my life, which I justly forfeit; and, tho' I detest my former behaviour, and promise henceforward the strictest obedience to His Majesty in the most profound and sincere manner; I plead no merit, but rely wholely on His Majesty's most gracious clemency, which so oft acquitted others equally guilty with myself. Your conduct, Sir, having upon all occasions been equally acceptable to the Sovereign, and engaging to the subjects, I cannot mistrust success when you take my cause in hand. That the best of Kings may pardon a subject unworthy of his Royal resentment, is the huumble petition of,

"Sir,

"Your most faithful, &c.

"ALEX. M'DONALD."

pretending peace, tho' they perpetrated the grossest crueltie under the colour of his Majestie's authority;—And seing the evidence taken be the right honorable the Lords and uther members of the commission, which his Majestie was most graciouslie pleased to grant for inquyreing into that affair, hath cleared to the parliament, that after committing of the forsaid massacre, the poor petitioners were most ravenously plundered of all that was necessary for the sustentation of their lives, and besydes, all ther cloaths, money, houses and plenishing (*furniture*), all burned, destroyed or taken away; that the souldieris did drive no fewer than five hundred horses, fourtein or fyftein hundred coues and many more sheep and goats; and that it is a proper occasion for his Majestie and the Estates assembled in Parliament, to give a full vindication of there justice, and freeing the publick from the leist imputatoon which may be cast thereon by forraigne enemies on the account of so unexampled ane action; and that it is worthie of that honour and justice which his Majestie and the Estats have been pleased to shew to the world, with relation to that affair, to releive the necessity of the poor petitioners, and to save them and their exposed widdons and orphans from sterving, and all the misery of the extreamest poverty, to which they are inevitably lyable, unless his Majestie and the Estats provyde them a remedy."

From Mr. John Grant, Laird of Glenmorison.

"SIR,

"The great and good character which your Excellency has justly obtained in the world, makes me presume to throw myself into your arms, humbly begging a share of that goodness towards me that has publickly appeared in your temper, and in all your actions, since you came into Scotland; and which has gained more hearts to His Majesty of those who were deluded into the Rebellion, than all the force of arms has done since the King's accession to the Throne; as none of those who were unhappily engaged in that unaccountable Rebellion was more innocently seduced by others to go into it, than myself; so I do sincerely assure Your Excellency that no man is more sorry for his foolish error than I am: and if His Majesty will be so good as to give me his gracious pardon, I shall, while I live, behave myself as a dutiful and grateful subject to His Majesty King George, and his Royal Family. I do therefore most humbly throw myself at His Majesty's feet imploring his mercy; and humbly intreat of your Excellency (who seem resolved to do good to all that will serve the King faithfully) to obtain my pardon of His Majesty; and I do sincerely promise to your Excellency, that I shall pass the remainder of my days in peace and fidelity towards His Majesty and the Government. And I hope there are Gentlemen in His Majesty's service under your Excellency's command, who will be bail for my peaceable behaviour, if you please to desire it. I humbly ask your Excellency's pardon for this trouble, and beg the honour of your good offices with the King and his Ministers, for my poor distressed

person and family; and am with great submission and respect, Honoured Sir,

"Your Excellencies most humble, &c.

"JO. GRANT."

"Glenmorison,
"24 Septr. 1725."

From Mr. John M'Kinnon, Laird of M'Kinnon.

"SIR,

"I beg leave to approach Your Excellency on this occasion, being one of those poor unfortunate Gentlemen who was in arms against the Government, and am now desirous to have my peace. I must own to your Excellency, I am heartily sorry for being ever engaged in Rebellion against so good and gracious a Prince; and I wish for nothing now more than an opportunity to repair that slip by a constant and dutiful behaviour towards His Majesty and the Government in time coming; therefore humbly desire your Excellency would be pleased out of your goodness and generosity to use your interest to procure my pardon; and, on the word of a Gentleman, I shall never enter into any measures that may give offence to His Majesty, or tend in the least to disquiet the Government; and as I am resolved, as far as I know, or can ever learn, to act the part of a good and dutiful Subject to his Majesty; so I shall endeavour in a particular manner, to make the most obliging returns to your Excellency, which the favour of getting life and liberty deserve, and my capacity can give, while I am,

"Right Hon.

"Your Excellency's most faithful, &c.

"26 Septr. 1725." "JO. M'KINNON."

From Mr. John M'Dougal of Lorne.

"SIR,

"Being one of those unhappy persons who have for want of knowing better, had the misfortune to be led into Rebellion, against His Majesty King George, whose goodness and clemency had long before this convinced the most obstinate of their mistake as well as crime; and having the opportunity of your being in the country, who have shewn so great humanity in it; I beg leave to address myself to you, to testify my repentance for having opposed so good a king; and to promise, as I sincerely do, to direct the remainder of my life to His Majesty's service, and that I may be in a capacity to shew my sincerity in the country where I committed the crime, I humbly pray His Majesty will be graciously pleased to pardon my life; and my words and actions for the future shall be such as that you will have no reason to repent of the good office done to,

"Sir,

"Your most obliged, &c.

"JO. M'DOUGAL."

"15 Sept. 1725."

From Robert Campbell, *alias* M'Gregor, commonly called Rob Roy.

"SIR,

"The great humanity with which you have constantly acted in the discharge of the trust reposed in you, and your having ever made use of the great powers with which you are vested, as the means of doing good and charitable offices, to such as ye found proper objects of compassion, will, I hope, excuse my importunity in en-

deavouring to approve myself not absolutely unworthy of that mercy and favour your Excellency has so generously procured from His Majesty for others in my unfortunate circumstances. I am very sensible nothing can be alledged sufficient to excuse so great a crime as I have been guilty of, that of Rebellion; but I humbly beg leave to lay before your Excellency some particulars in the circumstances of my guilt, which I hope will extenuate it in some measure. It was my misfortune, at the time the Rebellion broke out, to be lyable to legal diligence and caption, at the Duke of Montrose's instance, for debt alledged due to him. To avoid being flung into prison, as I must certainly have been, had I followed my real inclinations in joining the King's Troops at Stirling, I was forced to take party with the adherents of the Pretender; for, the country being all in arms, it was neither safe, nor indeed possible, for me to stand neuter. I should not, however, plead my being forced into that unnatural Rebellion against His Majesty King George, if I could not at the same time assure your Excellency, that I not only avoided acting offensively against his Majesty's forces upon all occasions, but on the contrary, sent his Grace the Duke of Argyle all the intelligence I could from time to time, of the strength and situation of the Rebels; which I hope his Grace will do me the justice to acknowledge.*

* This whole letter is a great curiosity; but it would have been well for Rob's reputation that he had left this part of his vindication to his Grace of Argyle. All the *demerits* ascribed to him by his enemies, are less to his discredit, than this one *merit* which he assumes to himself. Rob had all his life been constrained to *live by his wits*, and was so used to policy and stratagem, that he could do nothing without them. His situation in 1715 was also peculiar. He was opposed to his patron Argyle, whom he liked ill, and to Montrose, whom he liked still worse; and he followed the same standard

As to the debt to the Duke of Montrose, I have discharged it to the utmost farthing. I beg your Excellency would be pursuaded, that, had it been in my power, as it was in my inclination, I should always have acted for the service of His Majesty King George; and that one reason of my begging the favour of your intercession with His Majesty for the pardon of my life is, the earnest desire I have to employ it in his service, whose goodness, justice, and humanity are so conspicuous to all mankind. I am, with all duty and respect,

"Your Excellency's most, &c.

"ROBERT CAMPBELL."

From Mr. James Ogilvy, commonly called Lord Ogilvy.

"SIR,

"Tho' I have not the honour to be personally known to your Excellency, yet, having got a favourable character of your generosity, and inclination to mercy; and hearing you have instructions from His Majesty, concerning some of those in my circumstances, I have taken the liberty to offer you, in a few words, a just representation of my case and resolutions, hoping you will be so good as to set them in a true light before His Majesty and the Government, in order to obtain my

with the Men of Athol, whose chief was his bitterest enemy. A man like Rob, so hemmed in on all sides, had need to look about him. As to the cause in which he took arms;—it was to decide the claims of the rival *Houses* of *Stewart* and *Hanover*: and verily, Rob Roy had been so little obliged to the one, and had so little to expect from the other, that he might well have said with Mercutio, "*a plague of both your Houses!*" One cannot help smiling at the *naivete* with which he speaks of it as a thing of course, that when there was disturbance in the country, it was not to be expected that *he* should remain quiet.

pardon. Be pleased, then, to know, that at the age of sixteen, I had the misfortune to be misled into the late Rebellion by the insinuations of those who began it, and the example of numbers of the neighbourhood where I lived; which I only mention to shew how difficult it was for one of little experience to resist so strong an influence as that of almost all with whom I had any relation. How soon I could form just notions of things, I have not been wanting to shew my hearty sorrow and repentance for my former folly, by an early application to his Majesty's clemency, which I have long implored by repeated addresses to such of the Ministry as either I or my friends could have access to; and I hope many of them, after examination, do think my case may deserve His Majesty's and the Government's compassion. As I most earnestly desire to be reconciled to the King's favour, if His Majesty, out of his bounty, shall be pleased to grant me pardon, I do heartily renounce and abandon the Pretender's party, and its abettors, and do promise henceforth to live and act as a good and peaceable subject, giving all manner of evidence of my firm resolutions of adhering to my allegiance to His Majesty King George; and upon inquiry into my conduct, ever since I went out of my country, it will appear I have avoided all correspondence with the enemies of the Government; nor did I ever enter into any of their projects, since my first misfortune.

"Tho' at present I lye under the just sentence and attainder of Parliament, I never was in possession of any title to the heritage of the family of which I am descended, my father having conveyed his estate to a second brother; so that my forfeiture is of no advantage to the Government. But, not to trouble you with a

tedious detail of the particulars of my case, I intreat you may be pleased to inform yourself of the truth of what I advance, and the bearer shall communicate to you the way to be ascertained of it; so that, how soon an opportunity shall offer, you may give such a representation of it to His Majesty and the Government, as you think it deserves; and I hope, by my future behaviour, to testify the grateful sense I shall always retain of my duty and obligations to His Majesty for my restoration to his gracious protection; and shall be proud to owe my all to the success of your friendly intercession and endeavours; for I am, with great truth,

"Sir,

"Your Excellencies, &c.

"JAMES OGILVY."

"Stirling,
"23 Oct. 1725.

No. IV.

EXTRACTS

FROM

"*An Inquiry into the Causes which facilitate the Rise and Progress of Rebellions and Insurrections in the Highlands of Scotland, &c.*" *written in* 1747.

[From a MS. in the possession of the GARTMORE FAMILY, communicated by WALTER SCOTT, Esq.]

INTRODUCTION.

BY the HIGHLANDS OF SCOTLAND are understood, not only these mountainous grounds which run from both sides of Lochlomond, in Stirling and Dumbarton shires, to the north of Sutherland; but likeways the Western Islands, and these grounds that lye upon the heads of Angus, Mearns, and Aberdeen shires, and fall in, upon the westward, with that other tract of land. The country is exceedingly mountainous, but full of salt water loches upon the coasts, and of fresh water ones in the heart of the country. Upon the coast, the sides of these loches, and of the rivulets that run through the valleys, and which separate the mountains, there are great quantities of arrable land, cappable by right culture to produce most grains. It is in these valleys and

dens that the people live in little huts, and the extensive moors and mountains about them afford pasture for vast quantitys of cattle. In most places of the country there are woods of oak, birtch, firr, and a great deal of brush and long heath. There is no easie communication from one place to another, by reason of the ruggedness of the ground, excepting by the sides of these rivulets and lochs, which are situate in valleys that run from different parts of the Low countrys for a long way in through the mountains; so that most of these valleys are in a manner shut up from one another, and the rest of the world, except by passages which are commonly both narrow and difficult. The whole is very improveable, and capable of employing great numbers of the people in the ways of agriculture, breeding of cattle, fisherys, and manufactures of different kinds. It consists of about 230 paroches, if we include the Orkneys; and the number of souls residing within these limits will amount to 230,000.

The commonalty are of a smaller size than the people of the low country; and, as they are not accustomed to any hard labour, and are in the constant use of hunting, fowling, and following their cattle through the mountains, they are of wonderfull agility of body, and capable to travel with ease at a great rate. Their dwellings and dress expose them so much to the weather, that by custom they can bear the severities of it without prejudice. Their diet is neither delicate nor oppulent; nay, they'll feast upon a meal that would starve most other people. In some places, they are so extremely poor, that they frequently let blood of their cattle, through the summer, to supply their want of bread. These lowest sort of people are very ig-

norant; and, by whatever name they distinguish their religion, their state principles make a considerable part of it, and enthusiasm is the principal ingredient in both. They know no more of the improvements in common life than the breeding of cattle, the making of hay, butter, and cheese. Notwithstanding of this, they are masters of a wonderful sagacity and cunning, and which is scarcely to be found in any other common sort of people. But as the estate of every considerable heritor there is look't upon as a kind of principality; so hence arise so many separate interests; and from thence, jealousies, feuds, depredations, and thefts; all which affect the common sort, and in so far open their understandings, and sharpen their judgements. The *tackesmen*, or *good-men*, as well as the gentry, are generally larger bodied men than the inferior sort. These are a kind of ministry to the first, and patrons or councillors to the last; and, as they squeeze from the one by address, and from the other by a kind of friendly oppression, so their private interest requires a delicate management in relation to both. Constant experience in these circumstances, gives them judiciousness and subtilty, much above what could be expected from any in their situation. The whole of the people are capable of any improvement; and "to deny them courage and valour, would be doing them great injustice; for in that they are inferior to none, and few equall them." Gentlemen of estates, and the better sort, who have had the advantages of education, make as good a figure in their station of life, as any other people who move in the same sphere; only they affect a stateliness much above their rank in the world, and much above what their small estates can affoord. The great, nay

absolute, submission paid them by their dependents, the want of the frequent society of people, either of a superior or equall quality to themselves, and their remoteness from places where the authority and strength of the civil government is vigorously preserved, by its various subordinate powers, may occasion some singularities.

The property of these Highlands belongs to a great many different persons, who are more or less considerable in proportion to the extent of their estates, and to the command of men that live upon them, or follow them on account of their clanship, out of the estates of others. These lands are set by the landlord during pleasure, or a short tack, to people whom they call good-men, and who are of a superiour station to the commonality. These are generally the sons, brothers, cousins, or nearest relations of the landlord. The younger sons of familys are not bred to any business or employments, but are sent to the French or Spanish armies, or marry as soon as they are of age. Those are left to their own good fortune and conduct abroad, and these are preferred to some advantageous farm at home. This, by the means of a small portion, and the liberality of their relations, they are able to stock; and which they, their children, and grandchildren, possess at an easy rent, till a nearer descendant be again preferred to it. As the propinquity removes, they become less considered, till at last they degenerate to be of the common people; unless some accidental acquisition of wealth supports them above their station. As this hath been an ancient custom, most of the farmers and cottars are of the name and clan of the proprietor; and, if they are not really so, the proprietor either obliges

them to assume it, or they are glaid to do so, to procure his protection and favour.

Some of these tacksmen or good-men possess these farms themselves; but in that case they keep in them a great number of cottars, to each of whom they give a house, grass for a cow or two, and as much ground as will sow about a boll of oats, in places which their own plough cannot labour, by reason of brush or rock, and which they are obliged in many places to delve with spades. This is the only visible subject which these poor people possess for supporting themselves and their famillys, and the only wages of their whole labour and service.

Others of them lett out parts of their farms to many of these cottars or subtennants; and as they are generally poor, and not allways in a capacity to stock these small tenements, the tacksmen frequently enter them on the ground laboured and sown, and sometimes too stocks it with cattle; all which he is obliged to re-deliver in the same condition at his removal, which is at the goodman's pleasure, as he is usually himself tennent at pleasure, and for which during his possession he pays an extravagantly high rent to the tacksman.*

By this practice, farms, which one family and four

* "From these circumstances, the first *(landlords)* do naturally affect state, and get an itch to independency; the second *(tacksmen, or goodmen)* do acquire a habit of chicanery in the transactions of common life, and a plausible address to colour them; and the common people are abandoned to all licentiousness. These manners are destructive to Society; laws are necessary to reform them; and government to execute these laws. But people accustomed to this state of life, think these laws, this government, the greatest of hardships. It is not then to be wondered at, if they spurn at those who endeavour to put them under the thraldome of laws and order."—*From the same MS.*

horses are sufficient to labour, will have from four to sixteen familys living upon them. Nay, in the head of the paroch of Buchanan in Stirlingshire, about the barracks of Innersnait, as well as in several other places, there are to be found 150 familys living upon grounds which do not pay above 90*l.* sterling of yearly rent; that is, each family at a medium rents lands at twelve shillings of yearly rent.*

As, by these means, the greatest part of the inhabitants have neither half meat nor cloaths; they are driven by the necessitys of their circumstances, and induced by the conveniency of their situation for concealments, to steal cattle, both for supporting their familys and plenishing (*stocking*) their little farms; and, as the cause is generall, this practice is become so too.—Fewds and differences among familys in that country do not a little contribute to promote this mischief; stealling and robbing by means of villains kept thus in dependance, and under absolute command, being the common way of resenting quarrells against one another. That a gentleman is either affected to, or in favour with, the government, is ground of discontent, and his estate soon feels the effects of the malice that arises from thence. People of station above the vulgar, and even some of the established clergy, are so overawed, that they speak a language different from what they think, and come by degrees

* This requires explanation.—*Twelve shillings*, at that time, was a fair rent for three acres of the best land, and was equal to at least 15*l.* at the present rate; a consideration which takes off much of the wonder. It is also to be observed, that he who paid 12*s.* in money, often paid as much more in the form of service, and various articles of produce, such as poultry, lambs, kids, &c.

to think in the way that is most convenient for people that live in their situation; and as cattle is the only wealth or subject these inhabitants do possess, all property in that country is rendered precarious. On these accounts, there is no culture of grounds, no improvement of pastures, and, from the same reasons, no manufactures, no trade; in short, no industry. The people are extremely prolific, and therefore so numerous, that there is not busieness in that country, according to its present order and œconomy, for above the one half of them. Every place is full of idle people, accustomed to arms, and lazy in every thing but rapines and depredations. As *Buddel* or *Aquivitæ* houses are to be found every where through the country, so in these they santer away their time, and frequently consume there the returns of their illegal purchases. Here the laws have never been executed, nor the authority of the magistrate ever established. Here the officer of the law neither dare nor can execute his duty, and several places are above thirty miles from lawfull persons.—In short, here is no order, no authority, no government!

The confusions and disorders of that country were so great, and the government so absolutely neglected it, that the sober people there were obliged to purchase some security to their effects by shamefull and ignominious contracts of *black maill*. A person who had the greatest correspondence with the thieves was agreed with to preserve the lands contracted for from thefts, for certain sums to be paid yearly out of these lands. Upon this fund he employed one half of the thieves to recover stolen cattle, and the other half of them to steall, in order to make this agreement and

blackmail contract necessary. The estates of these gentlemen who refused to contract, or give countenance to that pernicious practice, are plundered by the thieving part of the watch, in order to force them to purchase their protection. He calls himself the *Captain* of the *Watch*, and his banditti go by that name. And as this gives them a kind of authority to traverse the country, so it makes them cappable of doing much mischief. These different odd kinds of corps through the Highlands make altogether a very considerable body of men inured from their infancy to the greatest fatigues, and so are capable to act in a military way when occasion offers.

People who are ignorant and enthusiastick, who are in absolute dependance upon their Chief or landlord, who are directed in their consciences by Roman Catholick Priests, or non-juring Clergymen, and who are not masters of any property, may easily be formed into any mould. They fear no dangers, as they have nothing to lose, and so can with ease be induced to attempt any thing.—Nothing can make their condition worse; confusions and troubles do commonly indulge them in such licentiousnesses as by these they better it.

It is extremely strange, that so far down as this year 1747, any part of Great Britain should be found in this situation; but the truth is, the Scots Government never was able to civilize that country, and establish order in it; and the new-modelled British Government hath continued matters as it found them.—I don't pretend to understand how this last hath happened; the first can easily be accounted for.

As the Scottish Nation was allways jealous of the designs, and had reason to dread the power of Eng-

land; so it allways struck in with France, which courted its alliance, that, by means of the Scotts, there might be a diversion given to the English arms, in the wars betwixt these two nations. To counterballance this, the kings of England keept up a correspondence and friendship, nay, entered into treaties with the familys of greatest interest in the Highlands, in order to give a diversion to the arms of Scotland, when their own kings made war against England. This countenance and assistance once given by the Kings of England to these families of the Highlands, their own greatness and independence, and their aversion to be restrained by laws, or subjected to the government of their own kings, engaged them in constant rebellions against the government, not only during the reigns of the two Bruces, but likewayes during those of the kings of the House of Stewart, and of these who succeeded them. Severall of the Princes of this House made steps to reduce these familys to good order, and civilize the country, particularly James 3d, 5th, and the 6th; but since the time that this last prince came to the crown of England, the state of that country hath neither been much known, nor regarded by those in the administration, excepting during the government of Oliver Cromwell.* The state of that country during that whole period of time, near 450

* "Oliver Cromwell entrusted the government of Scotland to Generall Monk, who by his authority, diligence and *severity*, reduced the Highlands to great peace and tranquillity. Forts were built, and garrisons established in all places where disturbance was mostly apprehended; *all other places of security and strength were burnt down. All woods that were easie to those that did not submit to the government were cutt.* Partys constantly patrolled through the mountains, and became acquainted with every

years, the steps taken to reduce it, and the truth of these facts * * * will appear * * * * from the Scots Historys and Acts of Parliament * * *."

Rob Roy, Barasdale, &c.

[From the same MS.]

It is exceedingly strange that the rebellion in the year 1715 did not awaken those in the administration, to make more steps towards civilizing the Highlands, for their own future security. The unhappy state of that country from the 1715, till the 1745, was the consequence of that neglect; and the unhappy state of the country was productive of those troubles in 1745.

The short time that the Highlanders were in a military way under the Lord Marr, and afterwards at Glenshiell, made the lower sort, after they were dispersed, abandon themselves to all manner of licentiousness.*

retired den and cave. The people, being thus deprived of every place of security, or retirement, and constantly hunted by partys, those who had interest and inclination to give disturbance were soon apprehended and incarcerate; and those who lived by rapine and plunder were without mercy brought to justice. But Monk's government was military; so its highly probable that all the delicacy and nice regard to the laws which a free civil government requires was not observed."—*From the same MS.*

* Their cattle had been shot or carried off, their cottages, and every thing they possessed, burnt and destroyed, and they, if they escaped with life, driven with their wives and children to seek refuge, and wait for a more quiet death, from hunger and cold, in the woods and holes of the rocks.—It were injustice to the *Clans* to impute to them the delinquencies of the rabble concerned in the skirmish at Glenshiel. That rabble consisted of the refuse of our population, highland, lowland, and Irish, offenders, who had taken shelter from the laws of their country under the standard of the earl of Mar, and after his defeat, sought refuge and sympathy among the jacobites in the mountains, and had joined the three hundred Spaniards who were landed among them in 1719.—The story of a *Chief lending his men to them for a day*, deserves no credit.

Thefts, robberys, rapines and depredations became so common, that they began to be looked upon as neither shameful nor dishonourable; and people of a station somewhat above the vulgar, did sometimes countenance, encourage, nay head gangs of banditts in those detestable villanys. It now only remains to fill up that time betwixt these two last grand rebellions, with as many instances as will shew the miserable state of that country in that interval which we call peace.

There was in that time one Robert M'Greiger, who assumed the name of Campbell, but was commonly known by that of Rob Roy, who was descended of a little family* of that clan, which held a small ferm of and in Balquhidder in few of the familly of Athole, and who commonly resided in the parish of Buchanan, Balquhidder, or on the confines of Argyleshire. This man, who was a person of sagacity, and neither wanted stratagem nor address, having abandoned himself to all licentiousness, sett himself att the head of all the loose vagrant and desperate people of that clan in the west end of Perth and Stirling shires, and infested those whole countrys with theifts, robberys, and depredations.† Very few who lived within

* Of a *little family*, in the then state of the Clan Gregor, he cannot be said to have been, as he was the second son of M'Gregor of Glengyle, who, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, had been formally declared to be their chief by the Clan.

† "About the year 1603, there was an insurrection raised by the M'Grigors in the west end of the shires of Perth and Stirling. They did not only vex all their neighbours by committing continual theifts and depredations, but were also guilty of prodigious crueltys and barbaritys. When the Colquhouns of Luss with their clan of that name, endeavoured to restrain their plundering of their grounds, they had a sharp encounter at Glenstroou, (*Glenfrum*) where the most part of the name of Colquhoun were masacred. Sir Humphrey, their Chief, escaped, but was soon after shot dead in his own house of Bennachra by the M'Farlands, who were employed, by a neigh-

his reach (that is, within the distance of a nocturnal expedition), could promise to themselves security, either to their persons or effects, without subjecting themselves to pay him both a heavy and shamefull tax of *blackmaill*. He at last proceeded to such a degree of audaciousness, that he committed robberys, raised depredations, and resented quarrels at the head of a very considerable body of armed men, in open day, and in the face of the government.—Mr. Graham of Killearn was then factor for the Duke of Montrose, and was in use to collect his rents at a place upon the borders of those Highlands at Buchanan, not above four miles from the house of that name, and no more from the town of Drymond. Being there upon that occasion, Rob Roy, with about 20 of his corps, came full-armed from the hills of Buchanan, apprehended his person in that place, robbed him of 300*l.* sterling of that Duke's rents, amidst his whole farmers, and carried that gentleman prisoner up amongst the hills, where he detained him a considerable time. The *Girnels* where the farmers delivered their victuall rent are near the same place; and whenever Rob and his followers were pressed with want, a party was detatched to execute an order of their commander's, for taking as much victualls out of these Girnells, as was necessary for them at the time.—Disorders increased there to such an

bour in fewd with him, to committ that execrable murder!!"—*From the same MS.*

The M'Gregors were no worse than their neighbours till bad treatment made them so. Their local situation, surrounded by Campbells, Grahames, &c. was their chief misfortune; and a century and a half of outlawry and annoyance, may easily account for the character which they at last acquired.—The tricks of a bear that is constantly baited, can neither be expected to be innocent nor entertaining.

height, that some years, the value of the thiefts and depredations committed upon some lands there were equall to the yearly rents of the lands, and the persons of small heritors were taken, carried off, and detained prisoners till they redeemed themselves for a sum of money, especially if they had at elections for Parliament voted for the government man. The then Duke of Montrose, in order to secure his estate from such insults, armed all his farmers who had suffered, thinking thereby they would be able to protect themselves; but Greiger M'Greiger of Glengyle, who took to himself the name of James Graham, a nephew of Robb's, eager to display his military talents, did, with a party of these Buchanan M'Greigers, disarm the whole, by surprizeing them separately,* and so left them again naked to the rapaciousness of their plunderers. This was monstrously ingratefull, both in the one and other; as Rob Roy, some years before, had obtained from that Duke, by his own interest only, the farm of land called Glengyle, to this same man, his nephew, in few, where his forefathers had lived farmers to the Lairds of Buchanan, for a little sum, not one tenth of its real value; and besides, in the year 1745, he drew, or rather forced his Grace's farmers in the neighbourhood of that place, into that insurrection which brought upon his lands there the resentment of the military.†

The lands in the head of the parish of Buchanan,

* This was an *agreeable surprise* of their own inviting; as they were desirous of being relieved from the incumbrance of arms which they had no mind to make use of. The understanding between the duke's farmers and the M'Gregors was too good for them to hurt each other.

† This is certainly not telling the story in M'Gregor's favour. Those who know the history, politics, and spirit of the retainers of the duke in that quarter, will not suppose that any *force*, or even much persuasion, was

lying betwixt Loch Lomond and Loch Katerin, are, o all these in that country, the best adapted for concealments, and the most conveniently situate for bad purposes, and *they had formerly been possessed by those of that clan.** Theifts and depredations were pushed successfully in these places, with an intention, either to turn these lands waste, or oblige that lord, the proprietor of them then, by a purchase from the family of Buchanan, to grant laces (*leases*) to those ancient possessors. The scheme proported answered; the sons of Rob Roy gott one half of those lands in lace, and Glengyle, the nephew, the other half. When those people got possession of these places so well fitted for their designs, they found they were able to carry matters still one point further; in order to which, it was necessary that theifts and depredations should be carried on incessantly through their whole neighbourhood. Things being thus prepaired, that this M'Gregor of Glengyle should keep a Highland Watch for protecting that country from these mischiefs, for supporting of which he demanded 4*l.* Scots out of each 100*l.* Scots of valued rent. As they had now got possession of these high grounds in a legall way, from whence they could vex the whole neighbourhood, the thing was agreed, and a formall *black-maill* contract entered into betwixt M'Greiger and a great many heretors, whose lands lay chiefly exposed to these depredations, and which enabled him, when the troubles of 1745 began, to raise about 40 men for that service, with which this

necessary, to induce them to join the standard of a spirited young prince such as Charles Stewart, when he appealed to them in a cause in which the courage and loyalty of their fathers had been so conspicuous.

* This serves to account for a great deal of what is here complained of

same man put the country upon the water of Enrick, Dundaff, Strablain, and other places, under contributions, and opened the first scene in that fatall tragedy, by surprizeing the barracks of Innersnait, and a part of Generall Campbell's regiment, which was working at the Inverary roads.*

The history of Mr. M'Donald of Barasdale would give a lively representation of the disordered state of the north Highlands; but, as the detaill of the conduct, stratagems, and schemes followed by Mr. M'Donald, to procure to himself an extensive and profitable Highland Watch, would be too tedious, I shall only say, that this gentleman, descended of the Glengary family, by the indolence and negligence of the head of that tribe, procured to himself such advantages and such interest with that branch of that clan, that he was able to force an extensive Highland neighbourhood, where are people of no small interest, to contribute to him a very considerable sum yearly for their protection.

Sir Alexander Murray of Stenhope had acquired a knowledge in mineralls, and travelled all over the Highlands in order to make discoverys in that way. Great appearances of lead-mines cast up to him in severall places, but particularly in the lands of Ardnamurchan and Sweenard, which belonged to Campbell of Lochneill. He made a purchase of these lands from that gentleman, and of some other small interests in that neighbourhood. He laid open vastly rich lead-mines at Strontian, and made very great improvements in the land estate. The mines turned out to very

* It should have been added, that the soldiers were snug in their barracks, and were *made prisoners*, to the number (as is said) of 89, by Glengyle, with only 12 M'Gregors.

great advantage, and would have increased to infinitely more, if matters had not fallen into very great disorders. Sir Alexander was a stranger in the country, the people upon his estate were all of them Camrons (Campbells), or of other clans in these places, who had a stronger attachment to their own respective chiefs than to their new landlord, a stranger, and the whole of the neighbourhood was possessed by these and other clans. Sir Alexander's cattle and effects were stollen, and robbed, his houses were burnt, and his own person and family threatened. He attempted to prosecute the criminalls before the ordinary courts of Justice; but he complained loudly, that either justice was delayed, or refused him, and the criminalls protected. It must surely have been the height of oppression that made the poor gentleman abandon all these promiseing prospects, for security to himself and his family, and complain of these hardships he met with to the British Parliament and Ministry; and we must now acknowledge, by what hath since happened, that his complaints have not been groundless, nor he a bad prophet. The Lordship of Morvern lys in the extremity of Argyleshire; it belongs in property to the family of Argyle, and is mostly possessed by these of the Clan Cameron,* who enjoyed there very advantageous farms. Some years ago there was, I believe, some improvement made in the rents, and Mr. Campbell of

* On the attainder of Argyle, a large portion of his forfeited estates had been given to Cameron of Lochiel, but resumed and restored to the family of Argyle, on the accession of William to the throne. It was then thought necessary to build Fort-William, as a check upon the Camerons. These circumstances account for the impatience of the Camerons, as well as for the threats which were bandied between them and the Campbells of Argyle, in 1745.

Craignish was appointed a new bailly and factor for that place. Neither of these alterations were agreeable to these people; a proper occasion was taken to seize the factor and rob him of 300*l.* sterling of that lord's rents. If a thing so audacious was attempted against the Duke of Argyle, a man so great and powerfull in these parts, what could Sir Alexander Murray or any other private gentleman expect?

Where there is no government, no order, what will not people dare to do?* No farther back than some moneths ago, as I am informed, a Regality Court was held by one Graham, successor in office to that Gentleman, who was made prisoner by Rob Roy, at that very place where he was apprehended. There happened a controversy there betwixt people of the name of Stewart, and others of that of M'Farland, about stollen cattle. The M'Farlands were charged of being guilty, art and part, of stealing the Stewarts' cattle; and, for vouching the truth of this allegation, hides of cattle were produced in court, found in the custody of the M'Farlands which were affirmed to be those of the cattle in question, and a proof thereof offered. The bailly secured the hides with the rest of this process till the next diet of court, and adjourned in order to take his ordinary refreshment. A few days thereafter a strong party of men in arms came to the court-house and carried off the whole. If these things be permitted, how

* Strange things, no doubt, as they do every day where these are in full vigour and activity. The heir-apparent to the throne of England has been robbed in broad day-light, within a few yards of his father's palace-gate; and it was but a few years ago, that an attempt was made to rob his Royal Highness the Prince-Regent of the hilt of his dress-sword by wrenching it off, while jostling him in the drawing-room at St. James's on a birth-day!

can justice be administrate? And, if there is a stop in that, there is an end of government.

It is plain, from what is said, the reigns preceeding that of King Charles the First made a great progress in reducing that country into good order; but that the politicks of the four reigns that succeeded Cromwell's usurpation had a direct tendency to the contrary.

Causes of the present disorderly State of the Highlands of Scotland.

[From the same MS.]

1st. The first and principal cause of the many disorders in that country is to be imputed to the great number of poor people there. The Highlands comprehends about 230 paroches, including the Western Islands and Orkneys. There are not fewer in every paroch, at a medium, than 800 examinable persons, that is, persons above 9 years of age. Those of nine, and under that age, will amount to 200, that is, about $\frac{1}{5}$ of the whole number. Thus in every paroch, at a medium, there will be 1,000 souls, and in the country, 230,000; and the whole force and power of this country, was every man betwixt the age of 18 and 56 to be put under arms, would be equal to an army of 57,500 men.

But, according to the present œconomy of the Highlands, there is not business for more than one half that number of people; that is, the agriculture, the pasturage, the fishery, and all the manufactures in that country, can be sufficiently managed by one half of that number. The other half, then, must be idle, and beggars, while in the country; that is, there are in the Highlands no fewer than 115,000 poor people, and of

these, there are 28,750 able-bodied men betwixt the ages of 18 and 56 fitt to bear arms.

The reall rent yearly paid to the landlords of each paroch, is probably, at a medium, 750 pounds sterling, and each of them, at a medium, comprehends about fifty ploughs of land; that is, as much arrable as four horses will labour; and as much pasture as will feed these horses and about 40 or 50 cows. Allowing 25 familly's for 25 of these farms, and two familly's for each of the other 25, this will be 75 familly's for every paroch, at a medium which, at six soulls in the family, will be 450 souls in each paroch. Fifty more persons make one half of the paroch, amongst whom there will be 12 able-bodied men, who will mannage any manufactory, as they are at present. And thus there is no busieness for the other 500; and if each of these ploughs pays of yearly rent to the landlord, 15*l.* sterling, each paroch at a medium will be of yearly rent 750*l.* sterling.

The expence of 115,000 souls, who at present can have no busieness or employment in the country, cannot be less than one penny sterling a day, that is, about 1*l.* 10*s.* sterling a year, each person: That is, their whole expence per annum will be 172,500*l.* sterling. A great number of these persons do probably gain equall to their expence, in the Low-countrys, during the season of herding [*tending cattle in open-field pastures*], of harvest, of hay, and by other labbour during the spring and summer; but then the rest of these people must be supported in the Highlands, where they constantly reside, as they gain nothing. These we cannot suppose under one half of the whole number, so that there are in that country

57,500 souls who live, so many of them upon charity, and who are vagrant beggars through the Highlands and the borders of it. Many of them live an idle sauntering life among their acquaintance and relations, and are supported by their bounty; others gette a livelihood by *blackmaill* contracts, by which they receive certain sums of money from people of substance in the country, to abstain from stealing their cattle; and the last class of them gain their expence by stealing, robbing, and committing depredations.

The poverty of these people makes them intirely depend on their landlords, from whom they have a residence; and their indulging of some in their idleness, and their protecting of others in their illegal practices, gives such an influence over them, that with ease they can prevail with them to undertake any thing; besides, their condition may possibly be better, but scarcely worse.

2^do^. The poverty of the people is occasioned and continued by a custom that is presently in use, and hath long obtained in that country; viz^t^. The practice of letting of many farms to one man, who, again, subsetts them to a much greater number than those can maintain, and at a much higher rent than they can afford to pay. This obliges these poor people to purchase their rents and expences by theifts and robberys, in which they are indulged and protected by their landlords, as these are the principall means of providing both. There are many instances of 16 familys living upon one plough of land; and in the head of the paroch of Buchanan, and many other places, there are about 150 familys who live upon lands that don't pay of yearly rent above 90*l.* sterling; none of them

have any employment; most of them possess a cott-house, a little yeard [*kitchen garden*], an acre or two of ground full of rocks, and a cow's grass or two.—Thus the people are allways poor, and allways dependants.

3^tio. The frequent depredations, robberys, and theifts through the Highlands produce effects of great consequence; for, as a great many persons are employed in this way, so a number of people are bred up and constantly accustomed to all the hardships, hazards, and fatigues of that busieness; by which means, from the time they can drive cattle, they have a kind of military education, by their night expeditions, their fatiguing marches, and by their useing themselves to all the severitys of the weather. And thus we find, that when they are formed into military bodys, they have in this respect the advantage of any regular troops.

Although the poverty of the people principally produces these practices so ruinous to society; yet the nature of the country, which is thinnely inhabitate, by reason of the extensive moors and mountains, and which is so well fitted for conceallments by the many glens, dens, and cavitys in it, does not a little contribute. In such a country cattle are privately transported from one place to another, and securely hid, and in such a country it is not easy to get informations, nor to apprehend the criminalls. People lye so open to their resentment, either for giving intelligence, or prosecuting them, that they decline either, rather than risk their cattle being stoln, or their houses burnt. And then, in the pursuit of a rogue, though he was almost in hands, the grounds are so hilly and unequall, and so much covered with wood or brush, and so full

of dens and hollows, that the sight of him is almost as soon lost as he is discovered.

It is not easy to determine the number of persons employed in this way; but it may be safely affirmed that the horses, cows, sheep, and goats yearly stoln in that country are in value equall to 5000*l.*; that the expences lost in the fruitless endeavours to recover them, will not be less than 2000*l.*; that the extraordinary expences of keeping herds and servants to look more narrowly after cattle on account of stealling, otherways not necessary, is 10,000*l.* There is paid in *blackmaill* or *watch-money*, openly and privately, 5000*l.*; and there is a yearly loss by understocking the grounds, by reason of theifts, of at least 15,000*l.*; which is altogether a loss to landlords and farmers, in the Highlands of 37,000*l.* sterling a year. But besides, if we consider, that at least one half of these stollen effects quite perish, by reason that a part of them is buried under ground, the rest is rather devoured than eat, and so, what would serve ten men in the ordinary way of living, swallowed up by two or three, to put it soon out of the way, and that some part of it is destroyed in concealed parts, when a discovery is suspected; we must allow that there is 2,500*l.* as the value of the half of the stollen cattle, and 15,000*l.* for the article of understock quite lost of the stock of the kingdom.

4^to^ These last mischiefs occasions another, which is still worse, although intended as a remedy for them. That is, the engaging companys of men, and keeping them in pay to prevent these thiefts and depredations. As the government neglect the country, and don't protect the subjects in the possession of their property,

they have been forced into this method for their own security, tho' at a charge little less than the land-tax. The person chosen to command this *watch*, as it is called, is commonly one deeply concerned in the theifts himself, or at least that hath been in correspondence with the thieves, and frequently who hath occasioned thiefts, in order to make this watch, by which he gains considerably, necessary. The people employed travell through the country armed, night and day, under pretence of enquiring after stollen cattle, and by this means know the situation and circumstances of the whole country. And as the people thus employed are the very rogues that do these mischiefs; so one half of them are continued in their former bussiness of stealling that the busieness of the other half may be necessary in recovering: And thus these watches make another nursery for military men. This practice is taken up out of meer necessity, by the Government's neglecting the polity of that country; is of very great consequence, and whoever considers the shamefull way these watches were managed, particularly by Barrisdale, and the M'Greigors, in the west ends of Perth and Stirling shires, will easily see into the spirit, nature, and consequences of them.

5to. The dress and habit of that country is of great advantage, wherever agility or expedition is necessary. By its looseness, the people are allways exposed to cold and weetness, and so by custom can bear both without any inconveniency.

This habit conduces, too, to give them an aversion for any constant hard labour; for, as it is slight and thinn, so it is not sufficient to cover and save the body in the pressures upon it necessary in hard work. It

fitts them out for activity, gives them an aversion to labour, and by a kind of uniform unites them in a body distinguished from the rest of their fellow-subjects.

6to. Their present way of life, which mostly passes in the moors and mountains, either in hunting after game for their support, or in the defence or pursuit of their cattle, accustoms them from their infancy with the use of the gun, sword, pistoll and durk, and this, again, gives them hardieness and resolution, and likewayes a dexterity in handling arms, much superiour to these constantly employed in agriculture or manufactures.

7mo. Their poor mean smoaky cold hutts, without any door or window-shutter, and without any furniture or utenseills, and which a man may build in three or four days, accustom the people to bear any accommodations that are sufficient for cows or hoggs. They are not of such a value as to be a pledge for their paying regaird to the law, and are not proper, by reason of their dirtyness and smoakyness, for manufacturing in them butter and cheese, the principall product of their country; to say nothing of their unfittness for any other kind of busieness.

8vo. The familys in that country have hitherto had so little interest with those concerned in the government of publick affaires, and therefore so small encouragement for any employment under them, that many younger sons of small familys are obliged, either to turn farmers at home under their eldest brother, or to go abroad to serve in the French or Spanish armies. The first tends exceedingly to keep up the clanship, and the last produces still worse effects. These young gentlemen, when they are preferred to commissions,

come privately every other year to the country, and contract with some of the able-bodied young men of their neighbourhood or clann, with whom they can have influence, for so many years service; and when that term expires, many of these choise to return home. And thus new levys are allways made, and some of the bred soldiers are allways returning. By this means, many are to be found amongst the inhabitants of the country, that have been disciplined in the French and Spanish armys. Many of the masters of little French vessells upon the coast of Normandy know all that highland coast fully as well as any British sailor, and some of them speak the highland language tollerably well.

9no. It hath been for some time a custom through the Highlands, amongst those who pretend to be chiefs or leaders of clans, to oblige all the farmers or cottars that gett possessions in their grounds to take their names. In a generation or two it is believed that they really are of that name; and this not only holds to the number of the clan, and keeps it up, but superinduces the tye of kindred to the obligation and interest of the former.

10th. Most of the baillies, factors, or stewarts upon the considerable estates thro' the Highlands, are disaffected to this present government, (by what accident this happens, I know not); and whoever holds these offices, can with ease influence the people what way they please. Every one of them either is, or may be, so much at their mercy, that they court their favour by takeing up their sentiments. And as several days are usually spent in holding courts, and levying the master's rent; so a good part of that time passes in

jollity and carousing; where the tennents and subtennents are spirited up to a distaste of the administration, by such conversation and news, as are unfavourable to it; and where the healths of persons are warmly remembered who have made it their busieness to subvert the constitution.

11th. The speaking in the Irish tongue through most of the country, which is a different language from that spoken by the rest of the kingdom, hath a great tendency to unite them in a body together; and separate them from the rest of the subjects by trifling animotitys, ariseing from their different manners, the natural consequence of their different language, and their want of our language evidently prevents their making improvements in the affairs of common life, and in other knowledge, as it is the means to acquire them.

12th. It might be expected that the schools established by the Christian Society in that country had done much, for introducing the language there;* but these schools are not so well conducted and overseen as ne-

* This insane policy of utterly *denaturalizing* the Highlanders, in order to *civilize* them, has been hitherto pursued by all the reformers who have attempted to interfere with them, and has already gone a great way towards taking from them all the virtues they once had, and giving them all the vices they were strangers to. On July 12th, 1695, an Act of Parliament was passed beginning thus: "Our Sovereign Lord, considering that several of the inhabitants of the Highlands and Isles are very refractory in paying to the Chamberlands and Factors, the rents of the Bishoprick of Argyle and Isles, which now his Majesty has been graciously pleased to bestow upon erecting of *English* schools *for rooting out of the Irish Language, and other uses*, &c."—Had his Majesty informed them that the rents were to be applied for making the word of God accessible to them in *the Language of their fathers, and other pious uses*, the rents would have been cheerfully paid, and the government endeared to the people.

cessary. The clergy, who have the charge, are too negligent, both in visiting and making just report of them. There is nothing more ordinary in these schools, than to see the boys read the English Bible with distinctness enough, and yet not able to speak one word of English; and in this condition they leave the school.

13th. The difficulty of access into most places of that country, and from one place to another, by reason of the badness of the roads, immures them up among themselves, and prevents their having correspondence and commerce with the civilized part of the kingdom; this keeps them in a state of ignorance and barbarity.

14th. As most of these places are at a great distance from trading towns, where the common sort have no correspondence, small heretors, and some of the substantiall tacksmen play the merchant, and supply the common people with such things as are necessary to them, either for labouring their grounds, supporting their familys, or comforting and relieving them in sickness; as iron, victuall [*corn*], little quantitys of wine and spirits, sugar and tobaco. As the poor ignorant people have neither knowledge of the value of their purchase, nor money to pay for it, they deliver to these dealers cattle in the beginning of May for the goods they have received; by which traffick the poor wretched people are cheated out of their effects for one half of their value; and so are kept in eternal poverty.

15th. It is alledged, that much of the Highlands lye at a great distance from publick Fairs, mercates, and places of commerce, and that the access to these places is both difficult and dangerous; by reason of all which, trading people decline to go into the country in order

to traffick and deal with the people. It is on this account that the farmers, having no way to turn the produce of their farms, which is mostly cattle, into money are obliged to pay their rents in cattle, which the landlord takes at his own price, in regaird that he must either grase them himself, send them to distant markets, or credite some person with them, to be againe at a certain profite disposed of by him. This introduced the busieness of that sort of people commonly known by the name of Drovers. These men have little or no substance, they must know the language, the different places, and consequently be of that country. The farmers, then, do either sell their cattle to these drovers upon credite, at the drover's price (for ready money they seldom have), or to the landlord at his price, for payment of his rent. If this last is the case, the landlord does again dispose of them to the drover upon credite, and these drovers make what profites they can by selling them to grasiers, or at markets. These drovers make payments, and keep credite for a few years, and then they either in reality become bankrupts, or pretend to be so. The last is most frequently the case, and then the subject of which they have cheated is privately transferred to a confident person in whose name, upon that reall stock, a trade is sometimes carried on for their behoof, till this trustee gett into credite, and prepaire *his* affairs for a bankruptcy. Thus the farmers are still keept poor; they first sell at an under rate, and then they often loose alltogether. The landlords, too, must either turn traders, and take their cattle to markets, or give these people credite, and by the same means suffer.

16th. The *buddiell** or *aquavitæ* houses, that is, houses

* A *buideal* is a small *keg*, or cask, in which spirits are conveyed on pack-

where they distill and retaill aquavity, are the bane and ruine of that country. These houses are every where, and when the price of barley is low, all of them malt and distill in great quantitys. As they never pay malt duty nor excise, they can sell their spirits at a small price. It is in these that the farmer does slothfully idle away his time, and consume his substance; that the loose vagrants who follow no business but that of thieving and committing depredations, pass most of the day in spending the price of their plunder, and in making their illegal contracts; and those houses do commonly occasion the breach of the publick peace.

17th. The episcopall nonjuring clergy are not numerous through the Highlands; but are exceedingly active. They so much blend the principles of government with those of religion, that they don't think they can make a good christian, without at the same time teaching him principles not only inconsistent with a free and happy constitution of Government, but subversive of the natural rights and priviledges of mankind. *Indefeasable hereditary right*, and *absolute uncontroulable power* in the chief magistrate, is looked upon allways as an essentiall article in their creed.

18th. There is a considerable number of the Roman Catholick clergy, some of them settled, others missionarys, who intirely direct the consciencies of those of that church, and greatly influence some who profess to be of ane other, in matters relateing to government affairs.*

saddles from one place to another. It is no other than the French *bouteille*, which originally meant any flask or keg.

* In one respect, the Highlands differed from every other country in Europe. They knew hardly any thing of the *abuses* of the Roman Catholic

19th. The established clergy thro' the Highlands and borders of it are, generally speaking, exceedingly negligent in their duty, and persons of no great reputation nor esteem; * many of them are not only frighted, from the circumstances of their situation, from doing their duty with resolution; but are even ready to fall in with the sentiments of those they were intended to reform, and to cover from the civil magistrate, as much as they can, both the crime and the criminal.

20th. The remottness of courts of justice from most places in that country occasions great mischiefs; thereby the landlords or their baillies are generally the judges both in civill and criminall matters, by virtue of their jurisdictions, and on this account are regairded by the people as the only persons of power to whom their submission is due. And as the landlords and chieftains thro' that country are exceedingly fond of secureing in their interest, and haveing at their command as many of the people, especially of the loose vagrants, as possibly they can, people who dare any thing, and have nothing to loose: so these jurisdictions are but too

religion, till after the introduction of the Reformation among them. In their small communities, there was no scope for two ruling powers, and the clergy were kept in their proper place.

* Dr. Johnson had a dislike to Presbyterians as such every where; yet, when in the Highlands, he met with some of the very men here spoken of who were still alive, and found them devout, learned, manly and liberal. Almost all the Clergy *then* were the sons of gentlemen, and well *educated* in every sense of the word. With respect to *school learning*, which is of the first importance, and which they did not receive in their own country, they had many advantages over those who are now bred up to the ministry there. What these still are, however, appears much to their honour, in their reports in Sir John Sinclair's "Satistical account of Scotland."

frequently made use of to protect these criminalls, by which they gain their affection; or to resent quarrels, by which they make themselves formidable.

21st. The great difficulty and expence of apprehending criminalls in that country, gives great encouragement to rogues in their bad practices. Whoever considers the nature of these grounds, the extensive moors and mountains, the woods and brush, with which in most places they are covered, the sudden swells and hollows on the surface of the grounds, and the many dens and glens thro' the whole, will easily perceive that two men will with more ease apprehend a rogue in a plain open populous country, than what twenty will do in such a one as I have described. Besides, considering the extent of ground, the inhabitants are few, and fearing mischievous resentments, not only refuse informations, but are fain to curry favour by giving protection. And if so, the difficulty and expence of apprehending a criminal is ten times greater than that of apprehending one in the Low countrys; which is what private persons cannot affoord.

22d. When criminalls are apprehended, it is frequently so great an expence to take them to a lawfull prison, that private people have great reason to grudge the charges. This is occasioned by the distances of the prisons. There are not as many in that country as are necessary; in many places it being thirty miles to a lawfull gaol.

23d. After a criminal is apprehended and incarcerate, the expence of the tryall or prosecution is so excessively great, that most people rather choise to suffer, than to expend 60 or 70*l.* sterling in bringing one of these

rogues to justice before a circuit, sheriff, or stewart court. And, if the prosecution be before the justiciary of Edinburgh, the charge will be much greater.

24th. These hardships that the subjects lye under, induces them to compound with the thieves for the injuries done them. By this composition, the person injured does not recover above one half of his effects, which comes out a very heavy tax payed by the peaceable subjects to these thieves and robbers; and by this impunity they are encouraged to continue in these villainous practices.

25th. So long as the Highlands continues in its present state, so long will there be insurrections, thiefts, and depredations, and so long will the people be in poverty and ignorance, and tools, not only to every every foreign power at warr with Great Britain, but to every discontented subject, who hath the interestt and address to play them to answer to his designs. If the people of estates and interest in the Highlands, who are disaffected to the present government, would allow themselves to think impartially, they would soon observe how inhumanly they have been used in all these state struggles, and that it is their greatest interest to have the Highlands civilized, and brought under a regular government. They would be no longer the dupes of designing people, nor undergo any longer the severitys and hardships that these intrigues have drawn upon them in preceding times; and their estates must improve with peace and tranquillity. But it may be a question whether those in that country who are really attached, and have testifyed their zeall and affection to the government, may not justly think that their greatest interest is founded in the present disorderly state of that coun-

try; for if at present they are necessary to the government on account of the force they can command, and if that makes them considerable, the civilizing of that country not only annihilates that force, but removes these disorders which made them necessary; and thus they are left of no more consequence than any other persons in Great Britain of the same extent of estate; which is another unhappy circumstance that attends the present state of the country.

26th. It was reasonable to expect, after the union of the two kingdoms, that every step in the administration of the publick affairs of Great Britain would allways have a tendency to render that union more and more compleat; and that no furder difference in the management of publick matters in the united kingdom would ever afterwards take place, than in so far as was necessary by the articles stipulate in that union; but in place of one uniform administration over the whole, there hath allways been a separate appearance, a face of government in Scotland, from that of England; which hath a tendency to hinder the two different people's incorporateing into one, and to continue nationall differences.

FINIS.

S. Curtis, Camberwell Press.

